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A HISTORY OF
THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

BY

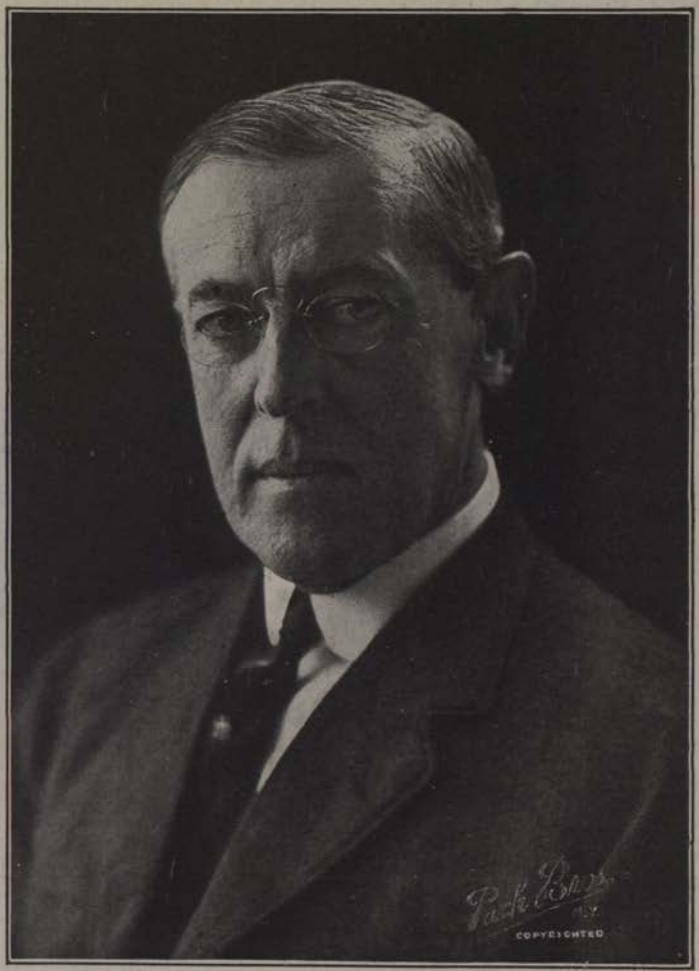
WOODROW WILSON, PH.D., LITT.D., LL.D.

DOCUMENTARY EDITION

IN TEN VOLUMES

VOL. I.

The Swarming of the English



Woodrow Wilson

DOCUMENTARY EDITION

A HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

BY

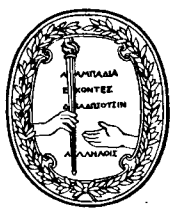
WOODROW WILSON, PH.D., LITT.D., LL.D.
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

ENLARGED BY THE ADDITION OF ORIGINAL SOURCES AND LEADING DOCUMENTS OF AMERICAN HISTORY INCLUDING NARRATIVES OF EARLY EXPLORERS, GRANTS, CHARTERS, CONCESSIONS, TREATIES, REVOLUTIONARY DOCUMENTS, STATE PAPERS, PROCLAMATIONS AND ENACTMENTS

ILLUSTRATED WITH CONTEMPORARY VIEWS, PORTRAITS, FACSIMILES AND MAPS SELECTED FROM RARE BOOKS AND PRINTS

IN TEN VOLUMES

VOLUME I



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TO

E. A. W.

IN LOVING ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF GENTLE
BENEFITS WHICH CAN NEITHER BE
MEASURED NOR REPAID

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INTRODUCTION

Now that the text of President Wilson's *History of the American People* has established itself as the most brilliant general version of the history of our country, this very popularity has naturally suggested the added value of a general history of this quality when extended and accompanied by the original sources, the first-hand narratives, charters, treaties, and great state papers upon which *A History of the American People* is based. In preparing this Documentary or Source Edition the references of the distinguished author have been carefully followed up, and the whole course of our history has been collated and annotated, with a view to the presentation of a documentary history, a chronological series of sources which should parallel and illustrate the descriptive history presented by the author. This edition therefore offers history written by a brilliant scholar, and also the original records. The narrative of the modern historian is accompanied by history told by the makers of history. The facts of Columbus's great voyage of discovery are brought home with peculiar vividness when we can turn from the graphic picture of the modern historian to the actual first-hand story of those men who saw that strange moving light at night and presently came into physical touch with an unknown world. Or again the narrative text may admit of only a brief reference to a charter or treaty or other vital state paper, but the plan of the Documentary Edition makes it possible to place the exact words before the reader.

Take, for example, this matter of first discoveries and early exploration, a matter of peculiarly absorbing in-

terest when such sagas of adventure are recited by the adventurers themselves. In the Documentary Edition the reader finds the original narrative of the first white man who crossed the continent, who was also the discoverer of the buffalo, over eighty years before the Pilgrims brought fame to Plymouth Rock. The discovery of the Grand Cañon in 1540, Balboa's realized vision of the Pacific, De Soto and the Great River, Henry Hudson's entrance into the river which bears his name—these are some of the great epics of exploration and discovery told by the explorers themselves or by their contemporary chroniclers.

After the first explorers came the question of ownership of the new world, the titles, awards, and charters, and these basic documents are well represented here by Ralegh's charter, the first charter of Virginia, agreements like the Mayflower Compact, and original documents of the earliest years showing how the eastern seaboard was divided and how its early government was planned. And later, in our Revolutionary period the exact phrases of British stamp and revenue acts and the American protests and declarations provide absolute illustrations of the modern emphasis upon the economic causes of the Revolution. Later again the early years of the nineteenth century brought demands for the freedom of the seas and proclamations regarding blockades and embargoes which tempt the reader to comparisons with state papers of similar titles issued a century later. On the one hand the incisive, eloquent analysis of our country's life in narrative form, on the other the very causes, reasons, and motives, the foundations and supports of that life in their original form, the great historical documents illuminating the evolution of the issue of slavery, the questions of our northern boundaries and our feud with Mexico, certain supreme proclamations and state papers of the Civil War, records of reconstruction, and later periods,

Hawaii, Venezuela, the War with Spain; in short, the source documents of our national development.

The matter of illustration has been the object of the same studious research and careful scrutiny which have been given to the comparison and selection of documents. Take for example the picture of the "Crookebacked Ox," which is used in the first volume in connection with the first account of the buffalo from Cabeza de Vaca's narrative. It was only recently that Mr. Wilberforce Eames, Bibliographer of the New York Public Library, identified this, the very first picture of the buffalo, in Gomara's narrative. It appears in this *History* for the first time under its proper attribution. In the examination of the very large number of rare books and maps which have been consulted in the preparation of this edition, much care has been taken to reproduce a number of peculiarly rare and valuable maps, which are unknown to general readers. Furthermore, in order that actual sources might be brought home as closely as possible, the editors have reproduced for this edition the title-pages, colophons, and some distinctive pages of certain of the rarest examples of historical Americana. Some emphasis may very justifiably be placed upon the wide range of the rare material which has been discovered through diligent research, portraits of peculiar distinction, contemporary prints of ancient battle scenes and Indian life, and also paintings of distinguished quality.

The preparation of the Documentary Edition has involved the collaboration of several experts, and the privilege of drawing upon the rare source material of the Lenox collection and other collections of the New York Public Library. To that Library especially, and also to Dr. John Cotton Dana, Director of the Newark Public Library, it is desired to offer grateful acknowledgments. At the beginning an outline plan of a series of selections was made to indicate the character and scope of the documents desirable for the additional five

volumes, or rather ten half volumes, to be added to the original set. This was done by a member of the American Historical Association and the New York Historical Society, also a Vice-President of the National Institute of Arts and Letters, and the author of various historical works, who has directed the production of this edition. The material was assembled by Mr. George J. Hagar, associate editor of Harper's Encyclopædia of United States History. All lists and material were carefully revised by Mr. L. Nelson Nichols, of the Department of American History, New York Public Library, and by assistants. The selection of illustrative material, which involved a wide range of research both within and without the Library, has been in the hands of an expert, Mr. F. J. Dowd. In the case of the original volumes there has been noted elsewhere the valuable aid rendered by Mr. Victor H. Paltsits, chief of the American History and Manuscript Divisions of the New York Public Library. While others have been consulted in the endeavor to check all the results most carefully, it seems proper to indicate the names and personality of the gentlemen who have been devoting themselves to this task, one of peculiar responsibility, but one of absorbing interest.

Obviously it was possible for President Wilson's publishers only to place the general plan before him, to obtain his general approval of a scholarly carrying out of that plan, and to take for themselves the full responsibility of organizing and carrying through the Documentary Edition of *A History of the American People.* This they have felt it an honor to do. And in adding to the original *History* as many volumes more of the sources, literary and pictorial, of American history, it is believed that these selections have realized results which comport with the quality and the dignity of this enduring *History.*

RIPLEY HITCHCOCK.

A HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

DOCUMENTARY EDITION

PART I.

A HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

CHAPTER I

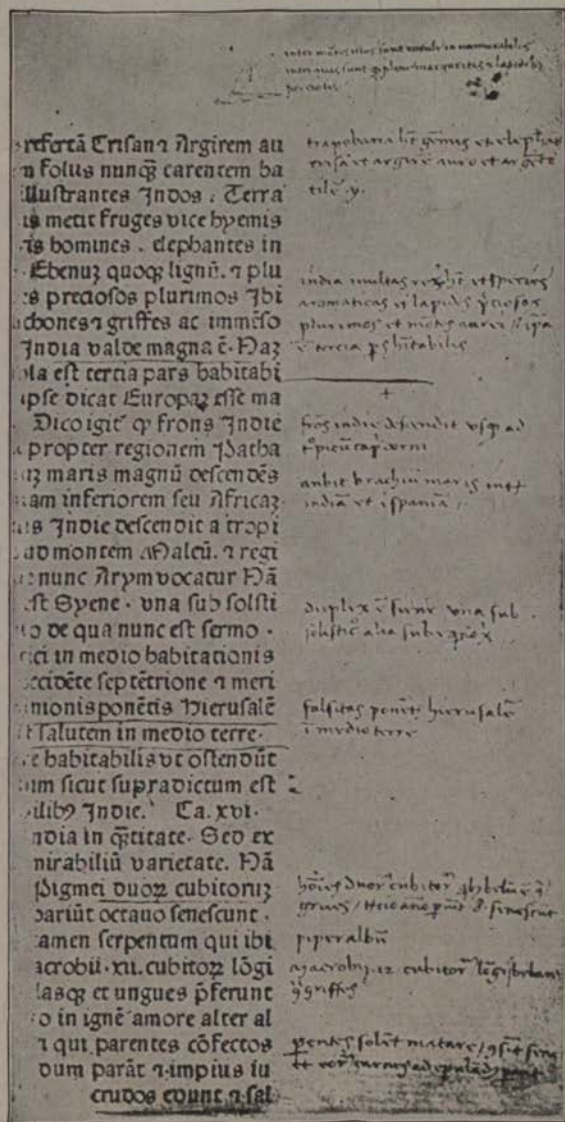
BEFORE THE ENGLISH CAME

WHEN the history of English settlement in America begins, the breathless, eager stir of the Elizabethan age is over, and the sober, contentious seventeenth century has come, with its perplexed politics, its schismatic creeds, its scheming rivalries in trade. An age of discovery and bold adventure has given place to an age of commerce and organization. More than one hundred years have elapsed since the discovery of North America. Spain has lost her great place in the politics of Europe, and France and England are pressing forward to take it. While parts changed and the stage was reset, the century through, the great continent lay "a veiled and virgin shore," inflaming desires that could not be gratified, stirring dreams that only enticed brave men to their death, exciting to enterprise and adventure, but never to substantial or lasting achievement. The same mistake that had led to its discovery had prevented its profitable occupation. Columbus had set out to seek, not a new con-

tinent, but old Cathay; and died believing that what he had found was in fact the eastern coasts of Asia. The explorers who followed him in the next century had persisted in seeking, as he had sought, not new, but old lands, rich with ancient kingdoms and fabled stores of treasure, lying ready to the hand of conqueror and buccaneer. Such ancient kingdoms Cortez and Pizarro actually found in South America and upon the Isthmus; and such every adventurer promised himself he should find just beyond the coasts of the northern continent also. Or else he should find something that would be quite as valuable, and possibly no less romantic,— a fountain of youth, untouched mines of precious ore, or waters floored with priceless pearls.

The discovery of the[1] New World had drawn Europe when she was most credulous into a realm of dreams. The Revival of Learning had come. Europe had read once more and with freshened eyes, as if for the first time, the frank sentences of the ancient classics, written when men looked heartily, fearlessly, artlessly about them, and her imagination had been quickened and enriched by what she read, her thoughts set free and rejuvenated. What she had seen also, as well as what she had read, had given her new life. For the Middle Ages were now passed, and she had herself become a new world. France had lost her feudal princes in the Hundred Years' War, and was at last a real kingdom under veritable kings, for Louis XI. had reigned. England had been transformed by the Wars of the Roses from a feudal into a national monarchy, and the first Tudor was on the throne. Spain had cast out the Moor, and was united under Christian sovereigns. Former geographical relations, too, had disappeared

[1] See page 173.



ANNOTATIONS IN HANDWRITING OF CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS

The old Europe had had its heart and centre in the Mediterranean; but the capture of Constantinople by the Turk, and the establishment of the hostile Turkish power upon all the eastern coasts of the Mediterranean, now shut her out from the habitual courses of her life by cutting off direct intercourse with the East. She was forced to seek new routes for her commerce, a different life for her nations, new objects of policy, other aims of ambition.

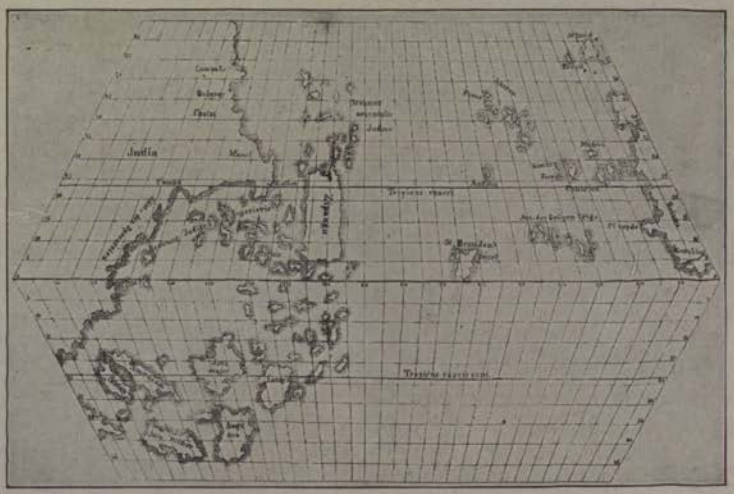
Having felt the keen early airs of the Renaissance, her powers were heartened and stimulated for the task, and she faced it with a glad spontaneity and energy. She was strangely filled with hope and with a romantic ardor for adventure, ready to see and to test every new thing. It was naturally her first thought to find her way again, by new routes, to India and the great East. Portuguese sailors, accordingly, sought and found their way around the southern capes of Africa; and Columbus, more bold and more believing still, pushed straight forth into the unknown Atlantic, that dread and mysterious "Sea of Darkness" which had lain so silent all the centuries, keeping its secrets. He would make directly for the shores of Asia and the kingdom of the Tartars.

In the new delight of giving rein to their imaginations men were ready to believe anything. They could believe even Marco Polo, whom they had hitherto been inclined to deem an impudent impostor. In the latter half of the thirteenth century, Polo, accompanying his father and uncle, had journeyed overland to the farthest kingdoms of Asia, when the great Tartar empire of Kublai Khan stretched from Europe to the Chinese Sea. He had seen throughout nearly twenty years the full

splendor of that stupendous realm, its rich provinces, its teeming and ancient cities, its abounding wealth and unexampled power. Some of its authority he had himself wielded; for he had been taken into the intimate counsels of the Great Khan, and had gone up

MARCO POLO

and down his coasts upon weighty errands of state. But the men of his day at home would not credit what he had to tell them of the boundless extent and resplendent glory of lands which no one else among their neighbors had ever seen, or ever heard named even, save by this Venetian adventurer. Who could say what truth there was, or what falsehood, in these tales of the ends



A CONJECTURAL RESTORATION OF TOSCANELLI'S MAP

of Asia and of a great sea lying beyond? Polo's story slumbered, accordingly, in curious manuscripts, or kept covert with the learned, until revived and brought to day again by the congenial air and the enticing credulity of the fifteenth century. In the view of that hopeful age nothing was impossible. These things and many more Columbus credited and pondered, as he pored upon crude and curious maps, sketched out of travellers' tales and astronomers' reckonings; and it was the very Cathay of Marco Polo he put across the new ocean to find.

The success of Columbus solved the mystery of the Atlantic, but it did little to instruct Europe, or even to guide her fancy, concerning the real nature of the lands he had found. No one dreamed that they were the coasts of a new world. Who could believe the globe big enough to have held through all the ages a whole con-

tinent of which Christendom had never heard, nor even so much as had poetic vision,—unless, perchance, this were the fabled Atlantis? Slowly, very slowly, exploration brought the facts to light; but even then men were loath to receive the truth. When Vespucius brought home authentic charts of new coasts in the southwest, thrust far out into the Atlantic, so that even mariners who strayed from their course to the Cape under stress of storms from out the east might hit upon them,

Ame-
rico

Nunc vero & hęc partes ſunt latius luſtratæ/ & alia quarta pars per Americũ Veſputium(vt in ſequentibus audietur)inuenta eſt:quã non video cur quis iure vetet ab Americo inuentore ſagacis ingenij viro Amerigen quaſi Americi terram/ſiue Americam dicendam:cum & Europa & Aſia a mulieribus ſuã ſortitã ſint nomina.Eius ſitũ & gentis mores ex bis binis Americi nauigationibus quę ſequũtur liquide intelligi datur.

PASSAGE IN "COSMOGRAPHIÆ INTRODUCTIO" IN WHICH THE NAME AMERICA FIRST OCCURS

there was nothing for it but to deem this indeed a New World. No such Asian coasts had ever been heard of in that quarter of the globe. This southern world must, no doubt, lie between Africa and the kingdoms of China. But the northern continent had been found just where the Asian coasts were said to lie. It was passing hard to conceive it a mere wilderness, without civilization or any old order of settled life. Had Polo, after all, been so deep a liar? Men would not so cheat their imaginations and balk their hopes of adventure. Unable to shake off their first infatuation, they went wistfully on, searching for kingdoms, for wonders, for some

native perfection, or else some store of accumulated bounty, until at last fancy was wholly baffled and rebuked by utmost discipline of total and disastrous failure. Not until a century had been wasted were confident adventurers sobered: the century of the Reformation and the Elizabethan literature. Then at last they accepted the task of winning America for what it was: a task of first settlement in a wilderness,—hard, unromantic, prodigious,—practicable only by strong-willed labor and dogged perseverance to the end.

While North America waited, South America prodigally afforded the spirit of the age what it craved. There men actually found what they had deemed Asia to contain. Here was, in fact, treasure-trove. The sea filled with mighty Spanish armaments, commanded by masters of conquest like Cortez; and the quaint and cloistered civilization of the New World trembled and fell to pieces under the rude blows of the Spanish soldiers. Then the sea filled again, this time with galleons deep-laden with the rich spoils of the romantic adventure. Whereupon daring English seamen like Hawkins and Drake turned buccaneers; and scant thought was given any longer to the forested wilds of North America. England and Spain faced each other on the seas. A few protestant sailors from the stout-hearted Devonshire ports undertook to make proud Spain smart for the iniquities wrought upon Englishmen by the Inquisition, while they lined their pockets, the while, out of Spanish bottoms. By the time the great Armada came, England had found her sea-legs. Spain recognized in the smartly handled craft which beat her clumsy galleons up the Channel the power that would some day drive her from the seas. Her hopes went to pieces with that

proud fleet, before English skill and prowess and pitiless sea-weather. It had been a century of preparation, a century of vast schemes but half accomplished, of daring but not steadfast enterprise, of sudden sallies of

John Hawkins

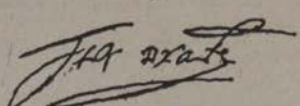
JOHN HAWKINS

audacious policy, but not of cautious plans or prudent forecasts. The New World in the north still waited to be used.

And yet much had in fact been accomplished towards the future successful occupation of North America. Some part of the real character of the new continent stood

sufficiently revealed. Early in the century Balboa had crossed the Isthmus and

> "Stared at the Pacific—and all his men
> Looked at each other with a wild surmise—
> Silent upon a peak in Darien."



SIR FRANCIS DRAKE

Magellan had found his way to the south, round about the coasts of South America, into the new ocean; and before the middle of the century Spanish vessels had beat their adventurous way along almost the entire Pacific length of both continents. By the time Drake set out on his famous first voyage round the world in 1577, the Spaniards had already established a trade

route across the Pacific to India and the Spice Islands.

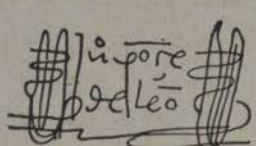
[1]Their discoveries became very slowly known to the rest of the world; they had no mind to advertise what they found, and so invite rivalry. Each nation that coveted the new lands was left to find out for itself how they lay, with what coasts, upon what seas. It did at

"CROOK-BACKED" OX

last become generally known, however, that America was no part of Asia, but itself a separate continent, backed by an ocean greater even than the Atlantic. What was still hidden was the enormous extent of the New World. It had been found narrow enough from ocean to ocean at the Isthmus; and the voyagers along its farther coasts had not been expert to mark the real spread and trend of its outlines. They imagined it of

[1] See page 201.

no great bulk. Throughout the century every explorer who sought to penetrate its interior from the Atlantic



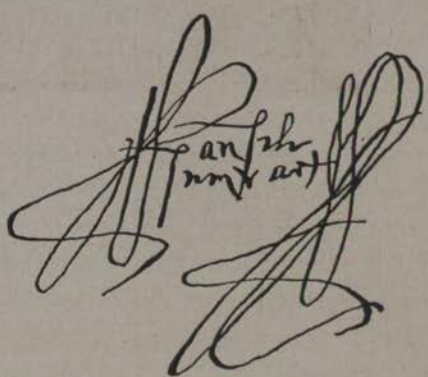
PONCE DE LEON

along any considerable watercourse confidently hoped to find, near the sources of the stream, similar passage down the western slopes of the continent to the great sea at the west. Adventurer after adventurer, moreover,

pushed northward among the ice to find a northwest passage whereby to enter the Pacific.

All such mistakes only served to make the real character of the northern continent the more evident. Every discovery contributed to sober discoverers. That the interior was one vast wilderness, grown thick with tangled forests, blocked by mountains which stood old and untouched, or else stretching wide "through mighty plains and sandy heaths, smooth and wearisome, and bare of wood," with only "crook-backed oxen" for inhabitants, the Spaniards had abundantly discovered by many a costly adventure. In 1513, the year of Balboa's[1] great discovery, and again in 1521, the gallant Ponce de Leon led an expedition into the beautiful peninsula which he named Florida, in search of a fabled spring whose waters, of "sweet savour and reflaire," it was said, "as it were of divers manner of spicery," would impart immortal youth to those who drank of them. But the wilderness baffled him, and he lost both his hope and his life in the enterprise.

In 1528 Pánfilo de Narvaez sought to take the land by storm, in true Spanish fashion, landing a force of three hundred men at Apalache Bay, with horses and trappings and stores, to march in quest of kingdoms and treasures. And march they did, thrusting their way through the forests and swamps very



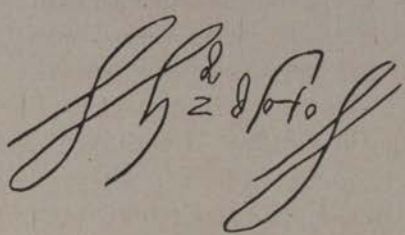
SIGNATURE OF PÁNFILO DE NARVAEZ

[1] See page 207.

manfully towards the vast unknown interior of the continent. Their ships, meanwhile, they sent away, to bring still others to the enterprise, but with plans of rendezvous so vague and ill-conceived that they never beheld them again. After three fruitless months spent with keen suffering of want and disappointment in the wild forests, where there was neither kingdom nor treasure, they found themselves thrown back upon the coast again, dismayed, and in search of their craft. Finding that they must help themselves, they built such boats as they could, and tried to pick their way by sea to the westward. Caught in a rush of waters at the mouth of the Mississippi, two of their five boats were overwhelmed, and all who were in them were lost. The rest drifted on till cast ashore far to the west. Four men, and four only, of all the company survived to tell the story to the world. After a marvellous and pitiful pilgrimage of almost two thousand miles, full of every perilous and strange adventure, they actually reached the Spanish settlements on the Pacific, eight years after that gallant landing at Apalache.

[1]In 1539 Hernando de Soto repeated the folly. He brought to the Bay of Espiritu Santo nine vessels, with near six hundred men and more than two hundred horses. Leaving a small part of his force with the fleet, he set out with a great force for the interior of the continent. It was childish folly; but it was gallantly done, with all the audacity and hardness of purpose that distinguished Spanish conquest in that day. With contempt of danger, meting out bitter scorn and cruelty to every human foe, and facing even pitiless nature itself without blanching or turning back, proud and stubborn to the last through every tormenting trial of the desper-

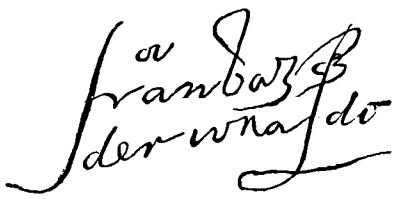
[1] See page 210.



HERNANDO DE SOTO

ate march, they forced their way onward to the great waters of the Mississippi. From the mouth of that river, in boats of their own construction, some three hundred survivors reached Spanish posts on the Gulf.

But without their leader. De Soto had sickened and died as they beat up and down the wilderness which lay along the great stream of the Mississippi, whose inland courses he had discovered, and they had buried his body beneath its sluggish waters.

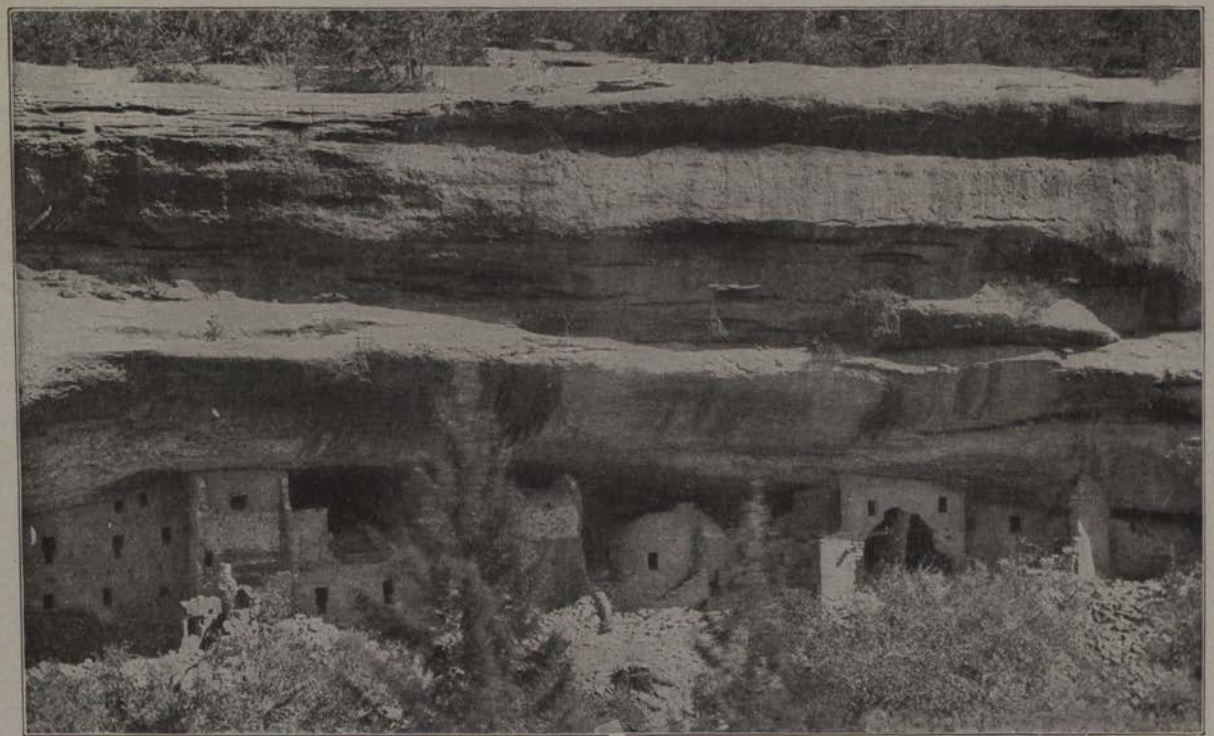


SIGNATURE OF CORONADO

Meanwhile a like expedition was wasting its strength in the wilds which stretched back from the Pacific. In 1540 Coronado, Spanish Governor of New Galicia, had led an army of three hundred Spaniards and eight hundred Indians northward from his Pacific province in search of seven fabled cities of "Cibola."[1] These "cities" proved to be only humble pueblos such as those whose ruins still so curiously mark the river cliffs of Arizona and New Mexico. Having put out parties to explore the courses of the Colorado and the Rio Grande, only to find the stately cañons of the one, at the west, and the spreading valley of the other, at the south, without the notable peoples and provinces he looked for, he himself pressed doggedly onward for weary hundreds of miles, eastward and northeastward, to the far Missouri, to find at last nothing but vast deserts, without a trace of population or any slightest promise of treasure. It was a hard lesson thoroughly learned, bitten in by sufferings which corroded like deadly acids.

By such means was the real nature of the North American continent painfully disclosed, each maritime nation acting for itself. Spanish, English, and French seamen beat, time and again, up and down its coasts, viewing harbors, trying inlets, tracing the coast lines,

[1] See page 216.



RUINS OF ARIZONA CLIFF-DWELLINGS

JACQUES CARTIER

carrying away rumors of the interior. The Spaniards explored and partially settled the coasts of the Gulf. In 1534-35 Jacques Cartier penetrated the St. Lawrence, in the name of his French master, as far as the present site of Montreal; and in 1541 planted a rude fort upon

the heights of Quebec. In 1562–64 settlements of French Huguenots were effected in Florida, only to be destroyed, with savage ruthlessness, by the Spaniards, who in 1565 in their turn established St. Augustine,[1] from which the French found it impossible permanently to dislodge them. In the opening years of the seventeenth century French colonies were planted on the St. Lawrence

OLD GATEWAY, ST. AUGUSTINE

at Montreal and Quebec, and in Acadia, in the region which was afterwards to be known as Nova Scotia. English settlements also were attempted. All signs combined to indicate the coming in of a new age of organized enterprise, when, with one accord, the nations which coveted the virgin continent should cease to

> 'fly to India for gold,
> Ransack the ocean for Orient pearl,
> And search all corners of the new-found world
> For pleasant fruits and princely delicates,"

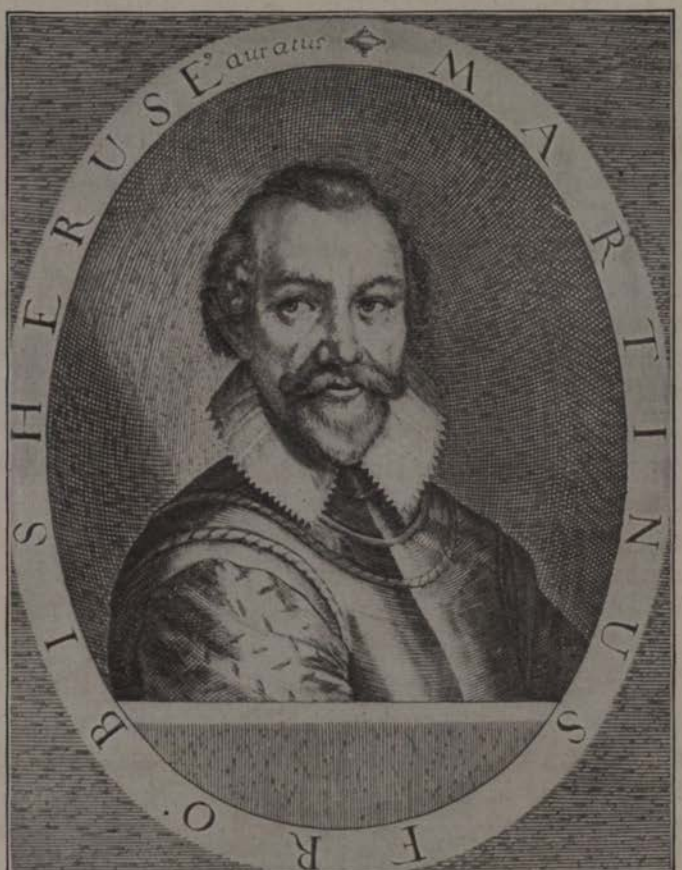
[1] See page 219.

and should compete, instead, to build communities and erect states over sea, and so possess themselves of a vast treasure of their own making.

In the great enterprise of discovery and exploration Spain had held the first place throughout a century; but for the task of colonization the parts were to be differently cast. The century had witnessed many profound changes in European politics. In the year 1519 Charles V., King of Spain, Archduke of Austria, King of Naples and Sicily, heir of the House of Burgundy, and therefore lord of the Netherlands, had become also Emperor of Germany, and had begun to threaten all Europe with his greatness. But the vast circle of his realm had not held together. It was not a single power, but naturally diverse and disintegrate, and had speedily fallen asunder. In 1568 began that determined revolt of the Netherlands which was eventually to sap

ST. AUGUSTINE, FLORIDA, 1742

and destroy the Spanish power. By scattering her force too ambitiously, and staking her supremacy on



SIR MARTIN FROBISHER

too many issues, Spain began steadily to lose the great advantage she had held upon the continent. For England the end of Spain's power was marked by the de-

struction of the Armada, and the consequent dashing of all the ambitious schemes that had been put aboard the imposing fleet at Lisbon. There had meanwhile been reckonings between England and France also. Henry VIII. and Francis I. had kept restlessly at work to adjust the balance of European power to their own liking and advantage. Wars, brief and inconclusive, but ceaseless, swept Europe in every direction; and then radical changes set in, both national and international. In 1562 the great Huguenot civil wars broke out, to rage for more than twenty years; and France stained her annals with St. Bartholomew's day, 1572. In driving the Huguenots forth to England and America, she lost the flower of her industrial population. She thwarted her European enemies, nevertheless, and solidly compacted her national power. The German countries all the century through were torn and distracted by the struggle of the Reformation, and remained self-absorbed, forming the parties and defining the passions which were to bring upon them the terrible Thirty Years' War of the next century.

When the new century opened, France and England alone stood ready to compete for North America. And, for all France was as keen to seek her interest in the New World as in the Old, the signal advantage, as the event abundantly proved, was to lie with England in this new rivalry in the wilderness. The reason is now plain enough. England had obtained from the sixteenth century just the training she needed for winning America in the seventeenth, while France had unfitted herself for the race by the new life she had learned. England had become a commercial nation, quickened in every seaport by a bold spirit of individual enterprise

that would dare anything for a success. The Tudor monarchs had, it is true, established a political absolutism; but they had, nevertheless, somehow deeply stirred individual initiative in their subjects in the process. In France, meanwhile, individual initiative had been stamped out, and the authority of church and state consolidated, to command and control every undertaking. France sent official fleets to America and established government posts; while England licensed trading companies, and left the colonists, who went to America in their own interest, to serve that interest by succeeding in their own way. The French colonies pined under careful official nursing; the English colonies throve under "a wise and salutary neglect." A churchly and official race could not win America. The task called for hard-headed business sense, patient, practical sagacity, and men free to follow their own interest by their own means.

The Reformation had performed a peculiar service for England. It had filled her, not with intense religious feeling, but with intense national feeling. It meant that England had thrown off all slavish political connection with Rome, and was to be henceforth national in her church as well as in her politics. It meant, too, that she was to have less church than formerly. When Henry VIII. destroyed the monasteries and appropriated their means and revenues, he secularized the government of England, and in part English society too, almost at a stroke. The wealth of the church went to make new men rich who had won the

SIGNATURE OF HENRY VIII.

favor of the crown, and a new nobility of wealth began to eclipse the old nobility of blood. Such a change met the spirit of the age half-way. The quickened curiosity and nimble thought of the Renaissance had no courteous care as to what it exposed or upset. The discovery of new lands, moreover, stimulated all sorts of trade and sea-traffic. A general movement to learn and acquire new things had begun among masses of comfortable people who had never cared to disturb their minds before. The literature of the "spacious times of great Elizabeth" was the spontaneous speaking out, with unexampled freedom of heart, with unmatched boldness of fancy and amplitude of power, of the finer spirits of a nation excited by every new prospect of thought and enterprise. Fortunately the Tudor monarchs were stingy how they helped their subjects with money, even to defend their wealth and commerce against the foreigner. Henry VIII. interested himself in improved methods of ship-building; and when he had time to think of it he encouraged instruction in seamanship and navigation; but he built no navy. He even left the English coasts without adequate police, and suffered his subjects to defend themselves as best they might against the pirates who infested the seas not only, but came once and again to cut vessels out of port in England's own waters. Many public ships, it is true, had been built before the Armada came, and fine craft they were; but they were not enough. There was no real navy in the modern sense. The fleet which chased the Spaniards up the Channel was a volunteer fleet. Merchants had learned to defend their own cargoes. They built fighting craft of their own to keep their coasts and harbors free of pirates, and to carry their goods over sea.

They sought their fortunes as they pleased abroad, the crown annoying them with no inquiry to embarrass their search for Spanish treasure ships, or their trade in pirated linens and silks.

It was this self-helping race of Englishmen that

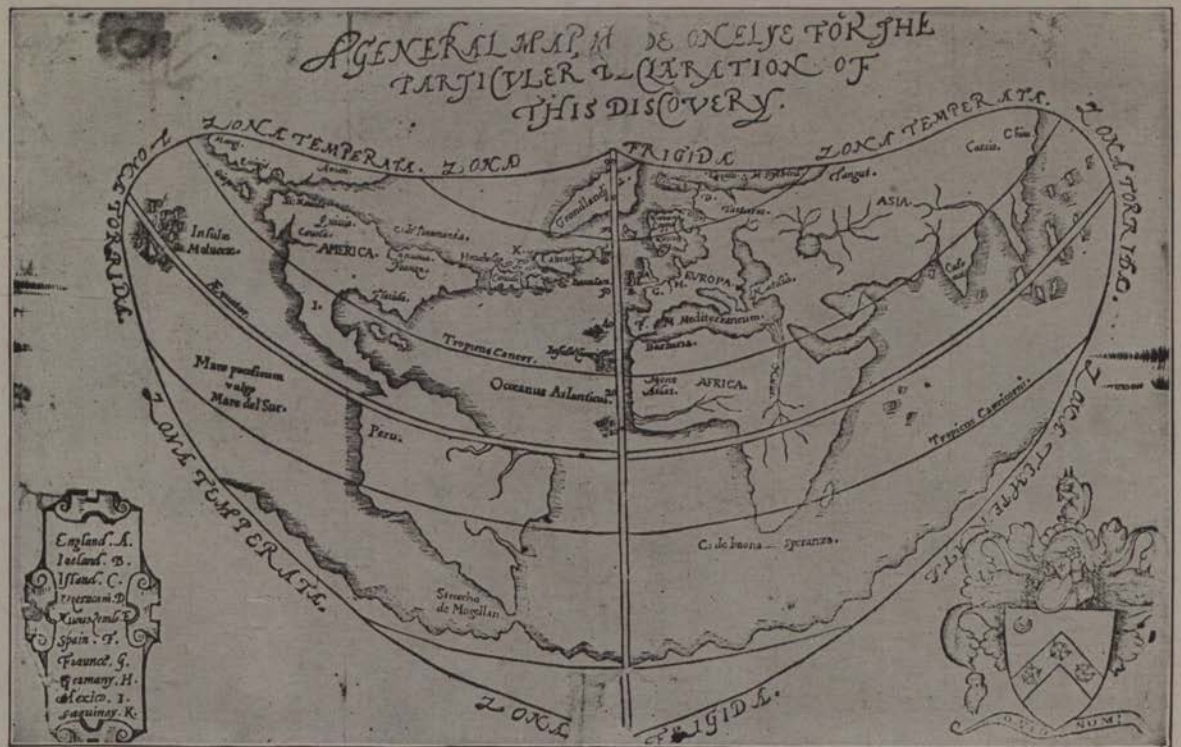
SPANISH GALLEON

matched their wits against French official schemes in America. We may see the stuff they were made of in the Devonshire seamen who first attempted the permanent settlement of the new continent. For a time all that was most characteristic of adventurous and sea-loving England was centred in Devonshire. Devonshire lies in the midst of that group of counties in the

southwest of England in which Saxon mastery did least to destroy or drive out the old Celtic population.

SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT

There is, accordingly, a strong strain of Celtic blood among its people to this day; and the land suits with the strain. Its abrupt and broken headlands, its free



GILBERT'S MAP

heaths and ancient growths of forests, its pure and genial air, freshened on either hand by the breath of the sea, its bold and sunny coasts, mark it a place made by nature to indulge that sense of mystery and that ardor of imagination with which the Celt has enriched the sober Saxon mind. Next it lay Somersetshire, with its sea outlet at sturdy Bristol port, where trade boasted itself free from feudal masters, pointing to the ruined castle on the hill, and whence the Cabots had sailed, so close upon the heels of Columbus. For itself Devonshire had the great harbor and roads of Plymouth, and innumerable fishing ports, where a whole race of venturesome and hardy fishermen were nurtured. All the great sea names of the Elizabethan age belong to it. Drake, Hawkins, Ralegh, and the Gilberts were all Devonshire men; and it was from Plymouth that the fleet went out which beat the great Armada on its way to shipwreck in the north. The men who first undertook to colonize the New World for England were bred to adventure, both by books and by the sea air in which they lived. Sir Humphrey Gilbert and his half-brother, Walter Ralegh, were gentlemen, trained to books at Oxford, and men of fortune besides, who could put forth into the world to look into what they had read of. Their books were full of travellers' tales; their neighbors were seamen who had met the Spaniard at close quarters on the high seas, and lightened him of his treasure. Wealth and adventure alike seemed to call them abroad into the new regions of the West. Ardently, and yet soberly too, with a steady business sagacity as well as with high, imaginative hope, they obtained license of the crown and led the way towards new ports and new homes in America. They did all with unstinted energy and de-

SIR WALTER RALEGH

MAP OF ROANOKE ISLAND AND VICINITY BROUGHT AWAY BY THE RALEGH COLONISTS

votion, embarking their fortunes in the venture. In 1583 Sir Humphrey Gilbert himself went out to Newfoundland, and lost his life seeking a harbor to the southward where to plant a colony. He had made his own quarters in the smallest vessel of his little fleet, and calmly "sat abaft with a book in his hand," even when the violent sea and the unknown coast threatened most sharply, cheering his companions the while with the stout-hearted assurance, "We are as near heaven by sea as by land." On Monday night, the 9th of September, about twelve o'clock, his lights went out and he found a haven he had not sought. The next year, 1584, Ralegh sent out two ships to take the southern course to America and find a coast suitable for settlement. They hit upon Roanoke Island.[1] It was, their captains reported, an exceeding pleasant land, its people "most gentle, loving, and faithful, and such as live after the manner of the golden age." Within the next three years, therefore, until the coming of the Armada called his attention imperatively off from the business, Ralegh made two distinct efforts to establish a permanent colony on the island. But both attempts failed. The right temper and purpose had not come yet. The first colony contained men only, and these devoted themselves to exploration instead of to tillage and building. Ralegh and his agents alike were still dreaming of El Dorado. The second colony contained women and families; but they made small progress in learning to deal with the Indians, now no longer gentle and faithful; and they continued to rely on England for supplies, which did not come. When finally search was made for them they were not to be found. Their fate has remained a mystery to this day.

[1] See pages 223, 234.

430

THE DISCOVERIE OF THE LARGE, RICH AND BEVVTIFVL EMPIRE OF GVIANA, WITH a relation of the Great and Golden Citie of Manoa (*which the ſpaniards call* El *Dorado*) And the prouinces of *Emeria*, *Arromaia*, *Amapaia* and other Countries, with their riuers, adioyning

Performed in the yeare 1595. by Sir *W. Ralegh* Knight, Captaine of her *Maieſties Guard*, *Lo. Warden* of the Stanneries, and her Highneſſe Lieutenant generall of the Countie of Cornewall.

Imprinted at London by Robert Robinſon 1596.

TITLE-PAGE OF RALEGH'S "DISCOVERIE"

And so the century ended, with only a promise of what might some day be done. But, though the new continent still remained wild, strange, and inhospitable, the approaches to it at least were at length known. The Atlantic was cleared of its terrifying mystery, and the common sun shone everywhere upon it. Both the northern and the southern routes across it had become familiar to seafarers. The merchants of Southampton regularly sent ships upon the "commodious and gainful voyage to Brazil" so early as 1540; and Newfoundland had been a well-known fishing and trading post ever since 1504. In 1570 at least forty ships went annually from English ports to take part in the fisheries there; and in 1578 no fewer than a hundred and fifty were sent from France alone. Hundreds of crews were to be found in St. John's Harbor in the season, drying their catch and sunning their nets. Europe could not have been sure of fish on Fridays otherwise. The ocean ways were well known; the coast of North America was partly charted; its forests were no longer deemed the frontier barriers of kingdoms; the romantic age of mere adventure was past; and the more commonplace and sober age which succeeded was beginning to appreciate the unideal economic uses to which North America was to be put, if Europe was to use it at all. It only remained to find proper men and proper means for the purpose.

Note on the Authorities.—The general history of the discovery, exploration, and early settlement of the coasts of North America, before the English came, may best be read in the various chapters of the first two volumes of Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History of America* (where full lists of authorities are given), in the two volumes of Mr. John Fiske's *Discovery of America*, in the first volume of Mr. J. A. Doyle's *English Colonies in America*, and in

the first volume of Bryant and Gay's excellent *Popular History of the United States.* Mr. Francis Parkman has given a characteristically lucid, accurate, and engaging account of the French settlements in Florida and at the north in his *Pioneers of France in the New World.*

Those who wish to read of the early voyages and explorations at first hand, in the *contemporary accounts,* will find almost everything that they want in Richard Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations* (edited by Edmund Goldsmid. Edinburgh, 16 vols., 1885–1890), in the invaluable *Publications* of the Hakluyt Society, and in the *Collections* of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

CHAPTER II

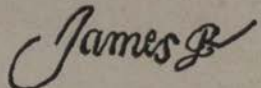
THE SWARMING OF THE ENGLISH

I. The Virginia Company

It was the end of the month of April, 1607, when three small vessels entered the lonely capes of the Chesapeake, bringing the little company who were to make the first permanent English settlement in America, at Jamestown, in Virginia. Elizabeth was dead. The masterful Tudor monarchs had passed from the stage, and James, the pedant king, was on the throne. The "Age of the Stuarts" had come, with its sinister policies and sure tokens of revolution. Men then living were to see Charles lie dead upon the scaffold at Whitehall. After that would come Cromwell; and then the second Charles, "restored," would go his giddy way through a demoralizing reign, and leave his sullen brother to face another revolution. It was to be an age of profound constitutional change, deeply significant for all the English world; and the colonies in America, notwithstanding their separate life and the breadth of the sea, were to feel all the deep stir of the fateful business. The revolution wrought at home might in crossing to them suffer a certain sea-change, but it would not lose its use or its strong flavor of principle.

The new settlers came in two small ships and a pinnace,

the *Goodspeed*, the *Sarah Constant*, and the *Discovery*, all of which belonged to the Muscovy Company, which usually sent its ships for trade much farther north, to Hudson's Bay and Davis Strait, or to bring cargoes

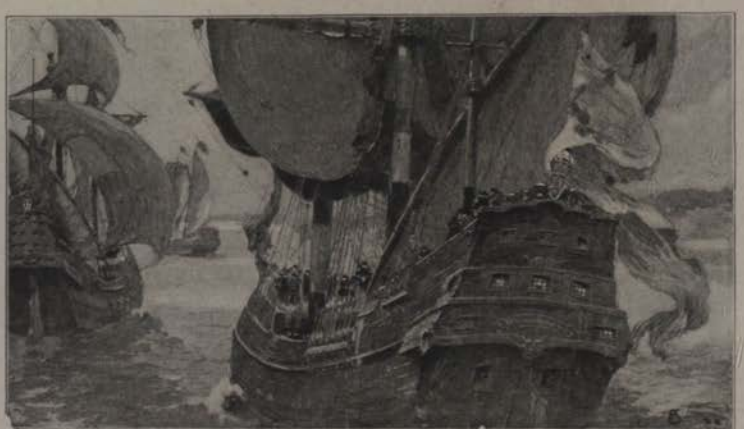


KING JAMES I.

from Greenland and the Cherry Islands. The little band of adventurers had gone aboard their craft at Blackwall, on the Thames, and had begun to drop down the river to put to sea on the next to the last day of December, 1606; but rough weather held them for weeks to-

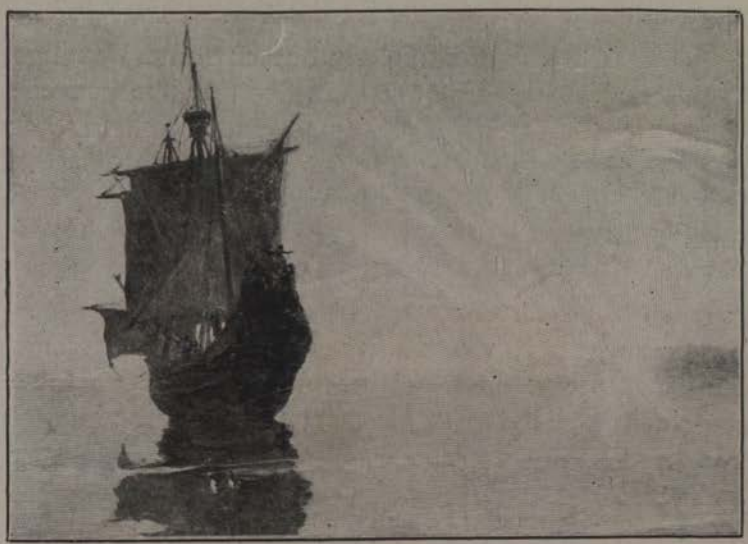
gether in The Downs, and it was past the middle of February, 1607, before they got finally away. Their course fetched a wide compass round about by the Great Canaries and the West Indies in the south, and it was the end of April before they saw at last the strange coasts for which they were bound.

It was a lonely age in which to be four months upon the great sea, for "ships were rare," only "from time



THE GOODSPEED, SARAH CONSTANT, AND DISCOVERY AT THE CAPES OF THE DELAWARE

to time, like pilgrims, here and there crossing the waters." You were sure to see no sail anywhere as you went. And the land to which they came was as lonely as the sea, except for the savages who lurked within its forests. The three little merchantmen came none the less boldly in at the capes, however; and the tired men on board thought the shores of the vast bay within very beautiful, with their "fair meadows and goodly tall trees," and their "fresh waters running through the woods," better than any wine to men who for four months had drunk



"SHIPS WERE RARE"

from the stale casks on the ships. And yet the loneliness of those spreading coasts, forested to the very water, was enough to daunt even brave men.

They presently found a great "river on the south side, running into the main," and they chose a place on its banks for their settlement which was quite forty miles above the mouth of its stately stream; for they wished to be away from the open bay, where adventurous seamen of other nations, none too sure to be their friends, might at any time look in and find them. They named their river the James, and their settlement Jamestown, in honor of the king at home.[1] Eighty years before there had been Spaniards upon that very spot. They had built houses there, and had planned to keep a lasting colony. There had been Spaniards in the West Indies these hundred years and more,—ever since the

[1] See page 252.

days of Columbus himself; and in 1526 Vasquez de Ayllon had led a great colony out of Santo Domingo to this very place, no fewer than five hundred persons, men and women, with priests to care for their souls and to preach the gospel to the savages. But discord, fever, and death had speedily put an end to the venture. The place had soon been abandoned. Scarcely one hundred and fifty of the luckless settlers survived to reach Santo Domingo again; and when the English put ashore there, where a tongue of low and fertile land was thrust invitingly into the stream, no trace remained to tell the tragic story. It was as still and bare and lonely a place as if no man else had ever looked upon it.

There were but a few more than a hundred men put ashore now from the English ships to try their hands at making a colony, and not a woman among them to make a home. They had been sent out by a mercantile company in London, as if to start a trading post, and not a community set up for its own sake, though there could be little trade for many a long day in that wilderness. Certain London merchants had united with certain west-country gentlemen and traders of Bristol, Exeter, and Plymouth in the formation of a joint-stock company for the purpose of setting up colonies in both "the north and south parts of Virginia"; and to this company royal letters patent had been issued on the 10th of April, 1606.[1] The name "Virginia" had been given, in honor of Elizabeth, the Virgin Queen, to the mainland which Ralegh's first explorers found beyond Roanoke. So far as Englishmen were concerned, the name covered the greater part of the Atlantic coast of the continent. The patentees of the new company

[1] See page 259.

"LIKE PILGRIMS, HERE AND THERE CROSSING THE WATERS"

were to attempt both a northern and a southern settlement, and, to serve their double purpose the better, were divided into two bodies. The London stockholders were to undertake the first colony, in some southern part of "Virginia," between the thirty-fourth and the forty-first degrees of north latitude; while the incorporators who were of Somerset and Devon were to undertake a

BOTH SIDES OF THE SEAL OF HIS MAJESTY'S COUNCIL OF VIRGINIA

second colony, to be conducted to some point farther north,—though all were to remain under the government of a single general council.

There were men of capital importance and quick energy among the London incorporators; and the enterprise they had taken in hand was not all novel. Several of them were members also of the East India Company, which had been formed seven years before, and of the "Russia or Muscovy Company," whose trade in far-away seas was a thing established and familiar.

DIVERS

voyages touching the diſcouerie of America, *and the Ilands adiacent* vnto the ſame, made firſt of all by our *Engliſhmen, and afterwarde by the Frenchmen and Britons*.

And certaine notes of aduertiſements for obſeruations neceſſarie for ſuch as ſhall hereafter make the like attempt,

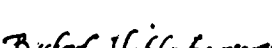
With two mappes annexed hereunto for the plainer vnderſtanding of the whole matter.

MVSEVM BRITAN NICVM

Imprinted at London for Thomas VVoodcocke, *dwelling in paules Church-yard*, at the ſigne of the blacke beare.

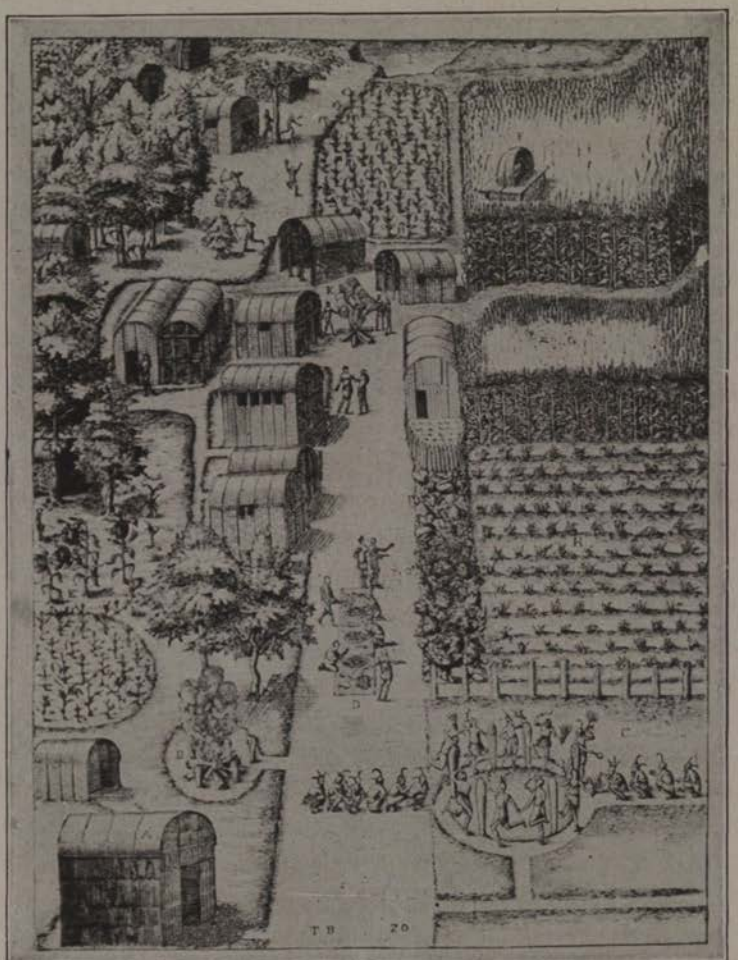
TITLE-PAGE OF HAKLUYT'S DIVERS VOYAGES

They were most of them men who had heard all there was to be told or read of the voyages and adventures by which America had become known in England; and some notable sailors were also of their number who had themselves seen the strange seas and unfamiliar coasts which others only read of. Richard Hakluyt, the genial and learned churchman, who loved every tale of daring and who knew more of the New World than any other man in the kingdom, was their associate in the new company. Captain Newport, to whom they intrusted the command of their little fleet, borrowed from the Muscovy Company, had already been twice to America: a clear-eyed man hardly turned of forty, and likely to understand what he saw. Bartholomew Gosnold, whom they commissioned captain of the *Goodspeed*, had himself discovered the short route to America by way of the Azores, and went now permanently to cast in his lot with the colonists. There were capacity and experience and audacity and steadfastness enough embarked in the service of the Virginia Company, it must have seemed, to make it sure of its success.



RICHARD HAKLUYT

And yet nobody very well understood what this new business of establishing colonies was to be like, for all that; and the colonists whom these capable London gentlemen sent over with Captain Newport were a sorry lot, it turned out, with whom to attempt an enterprise which should need for its execution every manly quality of courage and steadfastness and industry. Prosperous and steady men who were succeeding at home were not likely to be willing to go to America, of which they knew nothing except that it was full of savages, and that



INDIAN VILLAGE OF SECOTAN

Ralegh's colonists had been lost there, never to be found again. Only men hopelessly out of work or out of sorts, and reckless men, young and fond of adventure, were likely to think the prospect inviting, or the novel risk

worth taking, to better their fortunes, or to get the monotony out of their lives.

It happened that England was full of idle men, because her life was changing. The very quickening and expansion of commerce and of adventure in trade and conquest which had changed all the age and the aspect of the world itself since the first crossing of the Atlantic had given England a new place in the geography of the planet, and was radically altering men's lives and occupations and ambitions there. New trades and industries were springing up, and the towns were reaping the benefits of a diversified commerce. But the people of the rural districts had fallen upon evil days. Land, like everything else, had become a sort of commodity as trade gained its mastery. The old tenures, under which small holders had so long lived unmolested, were breaking up. The city merchants bought estates for their pleasure, and wanted no tenants. The older landowners got rid of small farmers as fast as they could, in order to turn their lands into pasture for the sheep whose wool was so much in demand by the merchants and the manufacturers. They even enclosed and appropriated for the same purpose commons which had time out of mind been free to all, and swept hamlets away to make the more room for their flocks. The demand for agricultural labor sadly slackened. "Your sheep, that were wont to be so meek and tame," cried Sir Thomas More, in his anger and pity to see such things done, "are now become so great devourers and so wild that they eat up and swallow down the very men themselves. They consume, devour, and destroy whole fields, houses, and cities." Town and countryside alike filled with men out of work, who "prowled

about as idle beggars or continued as stark thieves till the gallows did eat them"; and unguarded wayfarers were robbed upon the highways by desperate men who could find no other way to obtain subsistence. James's craven eagerness for peace had put an end to the wars with which Elizabeth's day had resounded, and London was full of idle soldiers, mustered out of service. Younger sons and decayed and ruined gentlemen seemed to abound more than ever.

It was men out of work or unfit for it who chose to go to America; and not men of the country-sides so much as discredited idlers and would-be adventurers of the towns. More than one-half of the company Captain Newport conducted to James River called themselves "gentlemen,"—were men, that is, of good blood enough, but no patrimony, no occupation, no steady habit, who were looking for adventure or some happy change of fortune in a new land, of which they knew nothing at all. Very few, indeed, of the rest were husbandmen or carpenters or trained laborers of any sort. There was only one mason, only one blacksmith, in all the hundred and twenty. Only two were bricklayers, only six carpenters; while thirty-five were gentlemen, and most knew not what to call themselves. The things it was most necessary to do when at last the landing had been made at Jamestown,—the planting of crops, the building of houses, the dull labor of felling trees and making a beginning in a wilderness,—were the very things which the men the Virginia Company had sent over knew least about, and had the least inclination to learn. They expected the company to send them supplies out of England, and gave little thought to what they were to do for themselves. When Cap-

tain Newport's ships put to sea again and left them, they were at their wits' ends to know how to maintain themselves.

It would have gone desperately with them had there not been one or two men of masterful temper and governing talents among them. Captain Newport came again with supplies in the winter; and still another ship followed him the next spring. And, besides supplies, the two ships brought a hundred and twenty new settlers between them. But among the new-comers there were shiftless "gentlemen" in the usual proportion; and there came with them a jeweller, two goldsmiths, two refiners, and a perfumer,—as if there would be need of such people! Such additions to the settlement only made it so much the harder to develop or even maintain it; and the few men who could rule stood out like masters among the inefficient idlers of whom the incorporators in London had thought to make pioneers.

There was one among them, Captain John Smith, to whom, in large part at any rate, they owed their salvation from utter helplessness and starvation. Captain Smith had a gift for narrative which his fellow-adventurers did not have, and has set his own achievements down in notable books whose direct and rugged ways of speech, downright temper of action, and air of hardihood bespeak the man himself. He was not yet thirty years of age when he began to play his part there in Virginia; he was exasperatingly sure of himself; older men found his pretensions wellnigh unbearable. But it was certain he had seen more of the world and of adventure than any other man of the company. He had known and had come to conclusions with men of many races and of every kidney, as

A

TRVE RE-
lation of ſuch occur-

rences and accidents of noate as
hath hapned in Virginia ſince the firſt
planting of that Collony, which is now
reſident in the South part thereof, till
the laſt returne from
thence.

Written by Captaine Smith *one of the ſaid Collony, to a*
worſhipfull friend of his in England.

LONDON
Printed for *Iohn Tappe*, and are to bee ſolde at the Grey-
hound in Paules-Church-yard. by *W. W.*
1608

TITLE-PAGE OF CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH'S "TRUE RELATION"

he had cast about the world, a soldier of fortune; and he knew how they were to be governed, as he presently demonstrated. He rang like brass without, no doubt, but had a quality of gold within. He was a partisan of his own way of making a colony, and it may be colored the narratives he wrote to be seen at home; but he was no sluggard at work, and knew how to take the burdens of tasks which no one else would attempt. He at least found ways of getting food from the Indians, and of making interest with their chiefs. Though he took authority when it was not given him, he made the lazy, "humoursome, and tuftaffety sparks" of the settlement work, upon penalty of being set across the broad river to shift for themselves or starve; prevented would-be deserters from running away with the boats; explored the neighboring coasts and river-courses,—for two years and a half played his part very capably and very manfully in keeping the struggling settlement alive, when the majority of his comrades would have been glad to abandon it. He compelled no man to do what he did not willingly do himself. "Gentlemen," under the spur of his example and command, learned to make a pleasant pastime of labor in the forest,—so that "thirty or forty of such voluntary gentlemen," as Master Anas Todkill said, "would do more in a day than one hundred of the rest that must be prest to it by compulsion,"—though doubtless "twenty good workmen would have been better than them all." No doubt there were others who seconded Captain Smith in the maintenance of order and of hope, and who worked as he did to take some hold upon the wilderness for their principals at home; but upon him fell the chief burden of the task, because he could carry it and prevail.

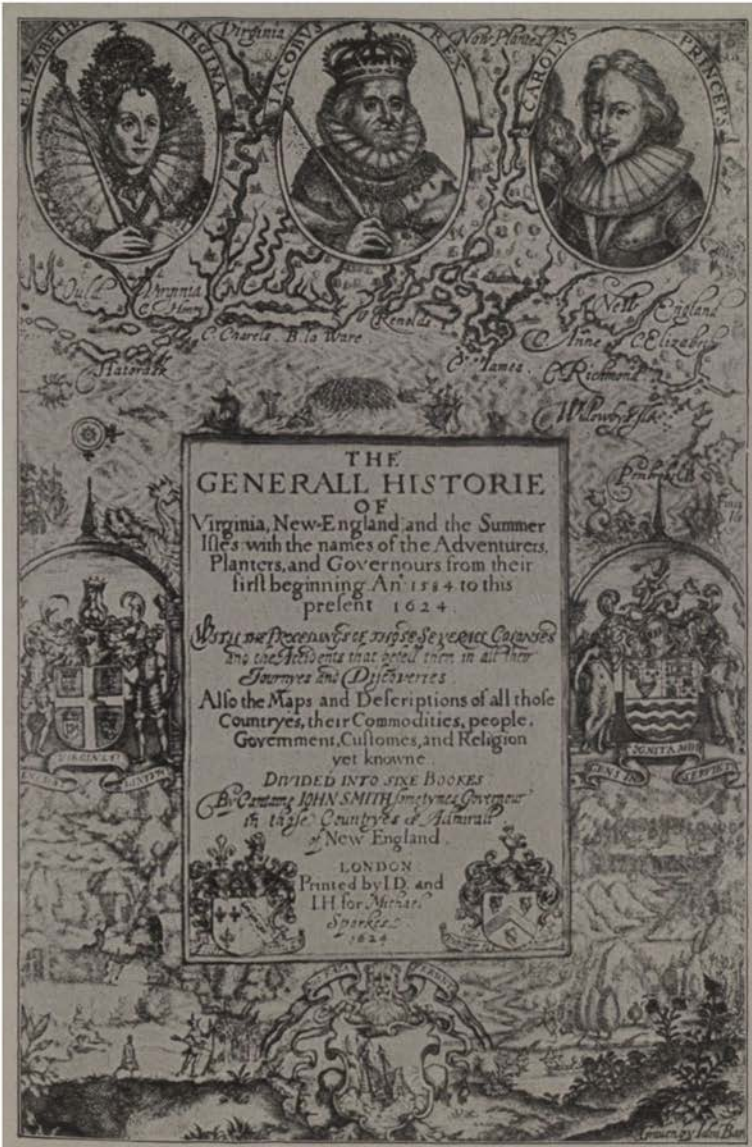
When at last, in the autumn of 1609, he was obliged to take ship for England, dangerously wounded by an explosion of gunpowder, it looked as if the worst were over at Jamestown. The company at home had been very busy getting colonists, and had sent them over in goodly numbers. There were about five hundred

CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH'S MAP OF VIRGINIA, 1612

persons at the settlement when Captain Smith left,—a few women among them, making it look at last as if the lonely place were to see homes established; and fifty or sixty simple houses had been put up. But numbers, it turned out, did not improve the living. Too many of the new-comers were "unruly gallants, packed thither by their friends to escape ill destinies" at home; and those whom they joined at their landing still did not

know how to support themselves in the wilderness, or how to keep themselves safe against the fevers which lurked within the damp forests by the river. Added numbers made them a little more helpless than before; and the six months which immediately followed Captain Smith's departure brought upon them a desperate "starving time," which no man who survived it ever forgot. There were few to work where every one was ill and in want. They tore their rude houses down for firewood before the winter was over; do what they could, only sixty of them lived to see the spring again, and a gleam as of madness played in the eyes of those who survived those days of desolation. One came and cast his Bible into the fire, crying out that there was no God. It was resolved at last, when they could, to abandon the desolate and hopeless place, and the forlorn little band were actually on their way down the river, meaning to seek food and shelter among the fishermen in Newfoundland, when Lord Delaware met them at its very mouth with fresh colonists and supplies sent by the company to their relief.

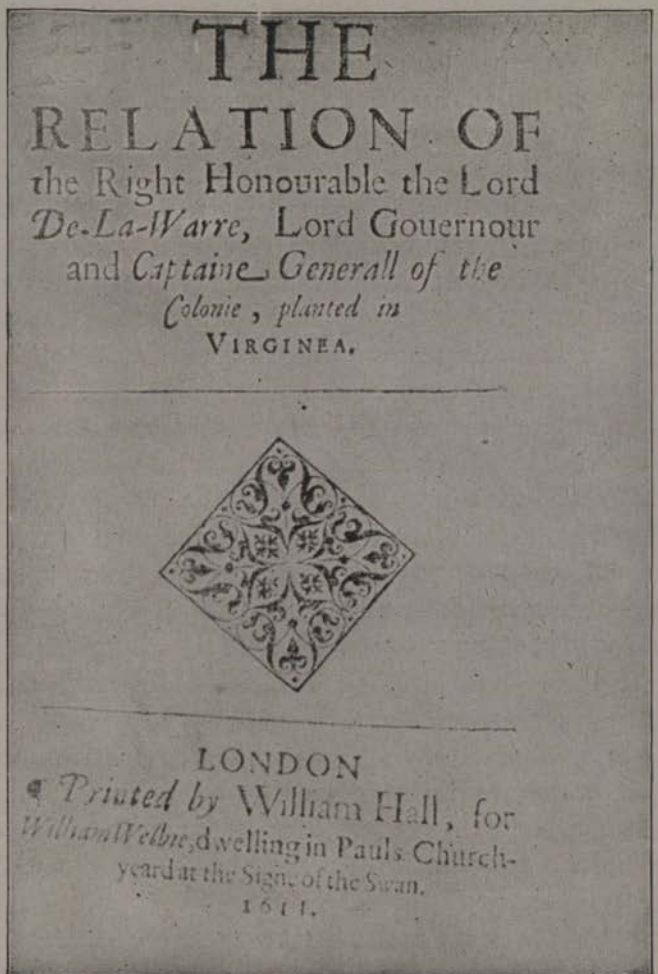
The radical difficulty was, not that the company did not do its part to sustain the colony, but that it could get few colonists of the proper sort, and was trying to do an impossible thing. The settlers sent out had no hopes or prospects of their own, as the company managed the business then. They were simply its servants, fed out of a common store, and settled upon land which belonged to no one but was used for all alike. No man would work well or with quick intelligence if he could not work at all for himself, but must always be working for the company. First-rate men would not consent to be the company's drudges. And what could the



TITLE-PAGE OF CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH'S "GENERALL HISTORIE"

company get out of the wilderness in return for its outlay by the work of such men as it could induce to go to Virginia upon such terms? A few cargoes of timber, a few new varieties of medicinal herbs found in the forests, could not make such expenditure worth while. Captain Newport, after his second voyage out, had gone back to England with his hold full of glistening earth, which he supposed to contain gold; but it contained nothing of the kind. It was only shining sand.

Lord Delaware, though a little slow and stiff and fond of wearing fine apparel and going about attended by officers and halberd-bearers, which seemed fantastic enough there in the shadow of the untouched forests of that wilderness, was a wise and capable man, and no doubt saved the colony by coming out, that hopeless spring of 1610, as Governor and Captain General for the company. But it needed a radically new policy to give real life to such an enterprise; and that it did not get till Sir Thomas Dale came the next year (1611), after Lord Delaware had gone home stricken with a fever. The new policy it needed was one which should give it expansion and a natural vitality of its own. It was necessary that new towns should be built upon the river which should not be, like Jamestown, mere stations where men worked at tasks for the company, but veritable communities in which men should be allowed to have land of their own, and should be given leave to work for themselves as well as for the incorporators in London. For five years (1611–1616) Sir Thomas Dale and Sir Thomas Gates pushed this new policy forward; and it was their new and better way of doing things that really made and established Virginia. "Henricus," "Hampton," "New Bermuda," and other new



THE
RELATION OF
the Right Honourable the Lord
De-La-Warre, Lord Gouernour
and *Captaine Generall of the*
Colonie, *planted in*
VIRGINEA.

LONDON
Printed by William Hall, for
William Welbie, dwelling in Pauls Church-
yeard at the Signe of the Swan.
1611.

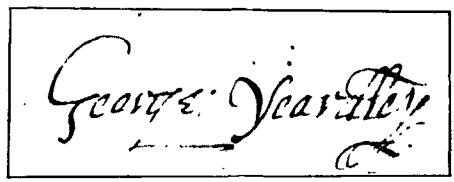
TITLE-PAGE OF LORD DELAWARE'S "RELATION"

settlements like them, were added to Jamestown, each with its fort and its stockade, its military commander and discipline, and each with its group of virtually independent landowners, free to work for themselves.

Most of the colonists, it is true, were still held at Jamestown to serve the company, and driven to their work, as little better than slaves, by their new task-masters. Gates and Dale came with authority to rule by martial law, without let or mercy, and colonists of the poorer sort got nothing but blows and rations for their bitter toil. Those who mutinied or ran away were put to death or to the torture, if need were, to keep the discipline of toil and order which the company's treasurer and merchant adventurers were now steadfastly minded should be wrung from the colony. But the new plantations showed the way to a new life. There were independent settlers here and there upon the river, as well as men who were mere servants of the company. The better sort, even of the men whom the company had sent out, were given their patches of land and their time,—if it were only one month out of the twelve,—to do work for themselves, in order that the new plans might thrive. A strong root as of a little commonwealth was planted at last.

Dale and Gates both belonged to that capable race which had been bred under Elizabeth, willing to be soldiers or sailors by turns, if only they could be always in the thick of action. They had both been soldiers in the Low Countries against Spain, and, now that fighting flagged there, were both serving their turn at this interesting business of setting up colonies. Dale was the more capable and masterful of the two: a terror to men who would not work or were slow to obey; a leader after their own hearts for men who meant to do their tasks and succeed,—and his stay in Virginia was, fortunately, longer by three years than Gates's. He was but Gates's deputy so long as Gates was in Virginia

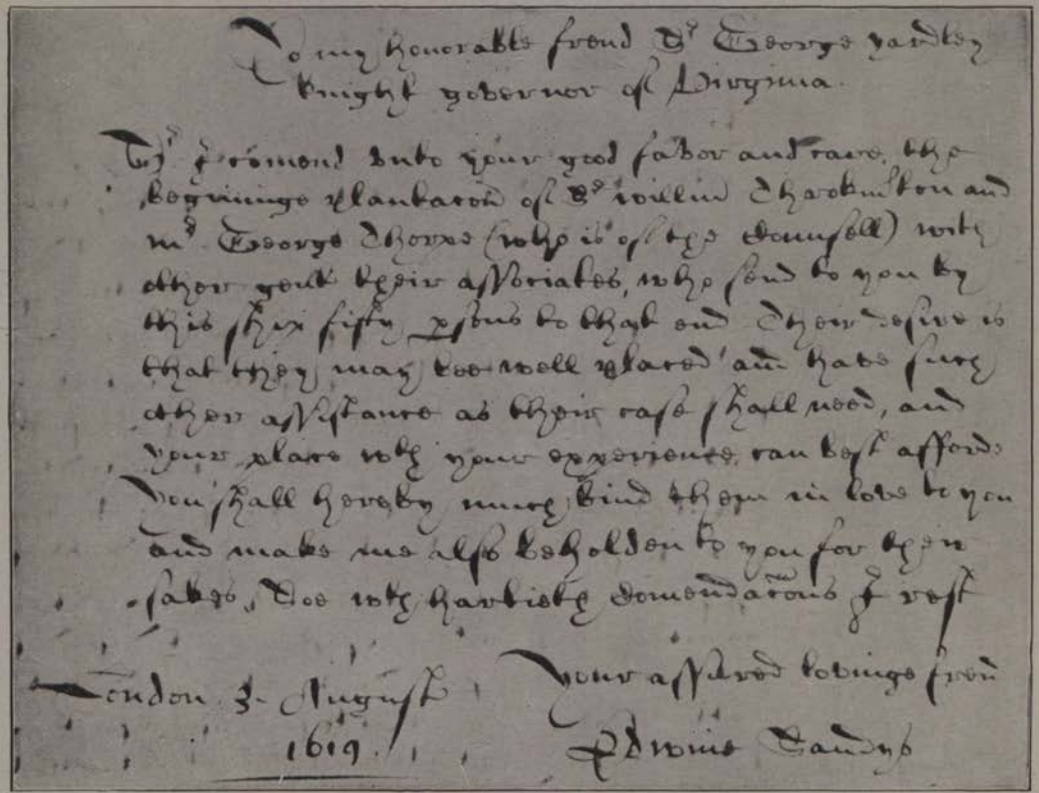
(1611–1613); but he was master when Gates was gone, —prevailed even when Gates was there,—and it was his rough and soldierly energy which made the little group of "plantations" at least ready to last and to expand into a lusty piece of England over sea. When he had finished his five years' work, the colony, though small and primitive still, was yet strong and spirited enough to survive being despoiled by an adventurer. For a year after Dale quit the colony it was left under the government of Captain George Yeardley, the commandant of one of the new settlements. But in 1617 Samuel Argall came out to take his place, and proved himself no lover of the people he had come to govern, but a man chiefly bent upon serving his own fortunes. He was of gentle blood, but had too long followed the sea in those disordered times, as little better than a freebooter, to relish law or justice overmuch; and it was excellent proof that the colony had grown strong and able to take care of itself that it endured for full two years his tyrannous and selfish exactions (1617–1619), and yet was ready at the end of them to assume a sort of independence, under a new form of government which gave it the right to make its own laws.



In 1619 Captain Yeardley, now become Sir George, returned out of England commissioned to take Argall's place and govern the plantations under a new and better charter. He was to call together an assembly of representatives from the several plantations, and that

assembly, sitting with the governor's council, was to have the full right to make laws for the colony, subject always to the approval of the court of the company sitting in London. Here was a very radical change. The colony was to be no longer the mere mercantile venture of a trading company controlled by its stockholders. It was to be a little state, governed by its people. The fact was that a notable change had come over the company at home. Until now it had been managed by men who were mere merchants, not statesmen: by men who cared very little about anything but the profits some time to be got out of the colony,—the sooner the better. Now men of another sort were in control; the chief among them Sir Edwin Sandys, a man who loved liberty, had a statesman's knowledge how it was to be set up and maintained, and wished to see the settlement thrive for its own sake, and the noble Earl of Southampton, whom Shakespeare loved. It was upon the initiative of these men that Sir George Yeardley had been sent out to give the colony self-government.

Here, under the quiet forms of a mere administrative change in the management of the colony, was a veritable revolution wrought. Sir George brought with him a document, bearing date 13 November, 1618, which Virginians were always thenceforth to look back to as to their Great Charter of rights and liberties,—a document which made of their colony a little commonwealth. It was drawn in the spirit of the men for whom Sandys spoke. Five years ago Sir Edwin had stood in his place in the Commons and maintained in the face of all present "that the origin of every monarchy lay in election; that the people gave its consent to the king's authority upon an express understanding that there were



To my Honorable frend Sr George Yardley
Knight gouernor of Virginia.

Sr I remound vnto your good fauor and care, the
beginings plantacon of Sr Iuellin Harbutton and
mr Georges Rowes (whose ill success doth still) with
other your Assotiates, whose bond to you by
this shipp fifty pounds to Wyat and Thence is
that they may be well placed and have your
other assistance as their case shall need, and
your place why your experience can best affords
You shall hereby much bind them in love to you
and make me also beholden to you for their
sakes. Doe why Hartily demaundacons &c rest

London 3. August
1619.

Your assured louinge frend
Edwin Sandys

FACSIMILE OF LETTER OF SIR EDWIN SANDYS TO SIR GEORGE YEARDLEY

certain reciprocal conditions which neither the king nor the people might violate with impunity; and that a king who pretended to rule by any other title, such as that of conquest, might be dethroned whenever there was force sufficient to overthrow him"; and here was now a constitution for Virginia drawn in like spirit. No wonder the King had cried, "Choose the devil, if you will, but not Sir Edwin Sandys," when he heard that the Virginia Company had a mind to make this too free-thinking friend of Hooker and Selden its chief and treasurer, and deemed it revolutionized and made an instrument of sedition against him when it chose Sir Edwin notwithstanding.

The new Virginian assembly met in the chancel of the church at Jamestown, on the 30th of July, 1619. We look back with some emotion upon it, as to the first representative assembly in America,—as to the beginning of liberty and self-government in the English colonies; but the colonists themselves seem to have taken it very quietly, as if they had expected it and looked upon it almost as a matter of course in the circumstances. Its sessions were as brief, as businesslike, and as much without ado as if they were already an established part of the custom of the colony. Certain necessary enactments were adopted touching trade with the Indians, the use of tobacco as currency, the salaries and authority of clergymen, and various other matters in which special regulations for Virginia seemed called for; but for the rest it was taken for granted that the common law of England was in force there, as in every other place where there were Englishmen; and within six days of its coming together the little assembly was ready to adjourn. The quiet and ready capacity with which the

FIRST VIRGINIA ASSEMBLY—GOVERNOR YEARDLEY PRESIDING

colonists accepted this radical change in the method of their life and government afforded the best proof that they were fit for the responsibilities it involved.

The company, under its new leaders, was a little too eager to help the colony to prosper. Settlers were hurried over much faster than they could be provided for. During the three years 1619–1621 quite three thousand five hundred came pouring in, men, women, and children, fleet after fleet of the company's ships appearing in the river to put their mixed hosts of inexperienced people ashore. And yet at the end of the three years there were but twelve hundred settlers, all told, in the colony. Cleared land and means of immediate subsistence could not be found upon short notice for so many. Hundreds succumbed to the dangerous fevers and sudden distempers drawn out of the damp forests by the summer sun or the first chill of the autumn nights. A sore process of "seasoning" tried out the river settlements every year, and only a few could endure it. It was reckoned inevitable that hundreds of new-comers should die. Many saw how things stood and went back to England again. But those who remained and survived prospered well; and the settlements grew, after all, as fast as it was safe for them to grow.

The terms under which land was granted to settlers became more and more liberal as things settled to an established way of life. Even Dale had not relieved the tenants of his day from the duty of working part of their time for the company; and the colony had been conducted, until Sir George Yeardley came, like a joint-stock enterprise in which only stockholders might expect private profit. But under the changed conditions which followed Sir George's coming virtually inde-

LANDING OF NEGROES AT JAMESTOWN FROM A DUTCH MAN-OF-WAR, 1619

pendent landholding became possible on very easy terms; and, what was quite as good, the company no longer insisted that everything bought or sold should pass through the hands of their factor, as the only middle-man, so that the profits of all trade might fall to them. It turned out to be a very important thing that Mr. John Rolfe, one of the colonists, had in 1612 introduced the cultivation of tobacco; for tobacco grew amazingly well and of exceeding good quality in Virginia, and proved a most profitable crop. By 1620 forty thousand pounds of the delectable herb were exported from the colony in a single year, and everybody who could was planting tobacco instead of grain. Its leaves even became the currency of the plantations, coin being very scarce. "The people of the South-parts of Virginia," it was reported, "say that God in the creation did first make a woman, then a man, thirdly great maize or Indian wheat, and fourthly, Tobacco."

SIGNATURE OF SIR THOMAS DALE

In 1619, the year Sir George Yeardley came to set up an assembly, another very notable thing happened. A Dutch man-of-war came into the river and sold twenty negroes to the colonists as slaves. A handful of slaves made no great difference at first; they were so few as scarcely to affect the life of the colony, and it was to be many a long day before their number was much added to. But their coming was the beginning of a great change which was slowly, very slowly, to alter the whole face of society in the settlements.

By 1622 it seemed as if the chief difficulties of settlement were safely passed and the plantations secure of their growth and permanence. But in the very moment of assurance a great calamity came upon them, sudden, overwhelming, like a bolt out of a clear sky. On the same day and at the same hour (22d of March, 1622) the Indians fell upon every settlement from the

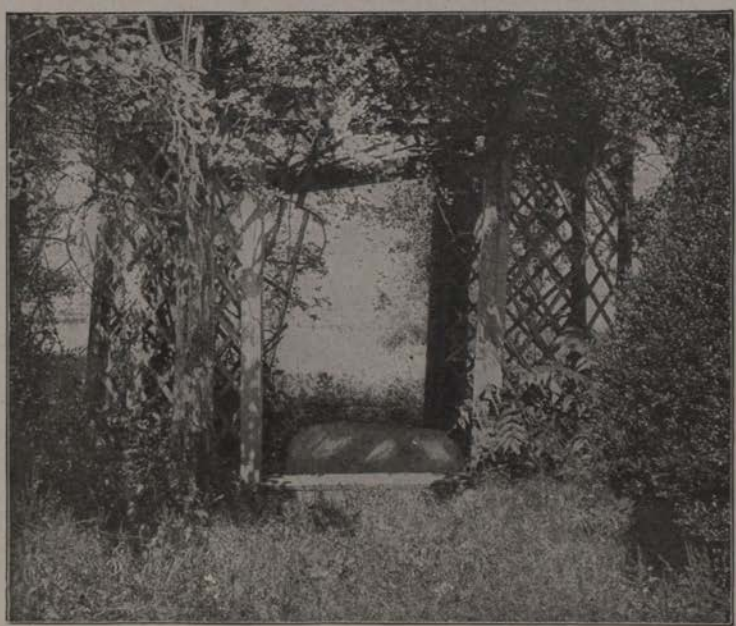
JAMESTOWN IN 1622

falls of the river to the bay, all the tribes of all the region round mustering in concert to strike a single exterminating blow. The colonists had suffered themselves to be deceived by the submissive friendliness of their savage neighbors, and had grown strangely heedless of danger from them. For years they had traded with them, mingled with them, admitted them freely to their homes, taught them the expert use of fire-arms, made servants and even confidants of them, without caution or reserve, deeming them an inferior race who

had accepted the white men as masters. But the old Powhatan, a real friend of the English, who had been ruler among the redmen ever since the landing at Jamestown, was dead. Opecanchanough, their subtle and implacable enemy, had succeeded him. For four years the wily savage had been drawing the tribes together for a decisive treachery; and the dreadful secret had all the while been kept safe behind the steady eyes of every Indian who entered the settlements. Only at the last moment did one or two faithful native servants warn their masters of the fearful peril; and then it was too late to do more than put a few households on their guard. Before the sun went down that fatal day three hundred and forty-seven men, women, and children lay dead in the desolate settlements. Only because the Indians feared the white man with an overmastering dread, and drew back dismayed wherever a firm stand was made against them, if only by a single settler barred within his house, did the terrible slaughter stop short of sheer annihilation. No place escaped the carnage. But the colony, though stunned, was not killed. The Indians' courage had not held out to finish the bloody work. There was henceforth an endless reckoning in store for them,—no longer any friendship vouchsafed or any consideration. Steadily, relentlessly, and by a masterful advance from settlement to settlement which they could in no wise withstand, they were pushed back into the forests. The very year which followed the massacre found nearly two thousand white men still in the scattered villages and plantations of the indomitable English, and their quiet way of growth had been resumed.

But the great company which had founded the settle-

ments and seen them safely through their first struggles for life and maintenance was not to be suffered to live. The King did not relish the politics and suspected the loyalty of the gentlemen who were in charge of its affairs. They were of the party which opposed him in Parliament. He had dismissed his Parliament and



GRAVE OF POWHATAN

meant to rule without it; but this great company, with names upon its rolls which were among the chief of London not only but of the kingdom itself, held meetings every quarter under his very eyes which were like another parliament; which brought his enemies very near him, and held the attention of the town. Those who wished his favor or the ruin of Sandys and South-

ampton told him that they used their conferences to plot sedition against him, and the councils of the company to keep a constitutional opposition together; and he determined to be rid of them. Every mismanaged or ill-judged affair with which the company was chargeable was magnified and made the most of, and, despite a very gallant fight in the law courts to save it, its

ALL THAT IS LEFT OF JAMESTOWN

charter was taken away, and the government of the colony transferred to the hands of the King and his ministers. It made little practical difference to the colonists. They kept their assembly, and could live as comfortably under a governor sent them by the King as under a governor sent them by the company. The course of affairs in Virginia was not disturbed. But a great company was destroyed, and the public-spirited men who had given it its best life and the

colony its first taste of self-pleasing liberty were deeply wronged.

Authorities on the history of Virginia during the seventeenth century. Excellent general narratives of the founding and early development of Virginia are to be found in the first volume of Mr. John A. Doyle's *English Colonies in America* and in Mr. John Fiske's *Old Virginia and Her Neighbours*. Charles Campbell's *History of the Colony and Ancient Dominion of Virginia* is the standard history of the colony; John Burk's *History of Virginia* is the most solid and extensive of the older accounts; and Robert R. Howison's *History of Virginia* has the dignity of resting upon careful research. William Stith's *History of the First Discovery and Settlement of Virginia* brings the narrative down only to 1624, but is compact of the most interesting matter, and is a significant example of the scholarship of the middle of the eighteenth century in Virginia. Mr. Stith was President of William and Mary College. The Rev. Hugh Jones's *Present State of Virginia* was published in 1724, and is an excellent early authority. Miss Ann Maury's *Memoirs of a Huguenot Family* contains the authentic records and letters of three generations of a family driven from France to Virginia by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and affords a very intimate picture of the life of more than a century. The Rev. E. D. Neill, in his *History of the Virginia Company of London*, his *Virginia Vetusta*, and his *Virginia Carolorum*, has brought together a vast deal of scattered information out of which very direct impressions may be got of the life and history of the colony. Bishop Meade, in his *Old Churches and Families of Virginia*, has brought together an extraordinary mass of authentic details, most of which relate to the eighteenth, but many of which belong to the seventeenth century.

The *original sources* of Virginian history are to be found in Captain John Smith's *True Relation of Such Occurences as Have Happened in Virginia*, published in 1608, and *Generall Historie*, published in 1624, both of which many modern readers are inclined to take with a grain of salt; in the *Collections* of the Virginia Historical Society (which, among many other important things, contain the Proceedings of the Virginia Company from 1619 to 1624); in W. W. Hening's invaluable and remarkable collection of the *Statutes at Large* of Virginia, which begins with the acts of the first assembly, in 1619, and is brought down, with scarcely an omission, to the end of the eighteenth cen-

tury; in Sainsbury's *Calendar of* [English] *State Papers, Colonial,* I. and V.; in the two volumes of Mr. Alexander Brown's *Genesis of the United States,* which is a notable mine of material; in Peter Force's *Tracts and Other Papers Relating to the Colonies in North America;* in the *Collections* of the Massachusetts Historical Society; in the notable collection of papers gathered under the title *Archaeologia Americana;* in the *Virginia Historical Register;* in the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography;* and in the *Southern Literary Messenger.*

II. New Netherland and New Plymouth

MEANWHILE other colonies were being successfully planted in the north. On the great river St. Lawrence, which doughty Jacques Cartier had explored quite seventy years before, the French had set up trading posts at Montreal and Quebec. They had established, besides, a struggling settlement or two nearer the mouth of the river; and to the southward, within the Bay of Fundy. A little colony of Englishmen had begun to make homes for themselves in Newfoundland. Dutch traders were established on the Hudson. A company of English dissenters were building a New Plymouth within Cape Cod, and little groups of English adventurers were trying to secure a foothold upon the southern shores of the wide Bay of Massachusetts. Nowhere except in Virginia had more than a beginning been made; but the settlement of the continent seemed at last to have been begun in earnest; and the future looked interesting enough with the French, the Dutch, and the English all entered as active competitors in the race for possession.

The Dutch were likely to be harder rivals to beat than the French. Their little, compact home states in the Netherlands were, it is true, scarcely one-fourth as big as England, but they teemed with a thrifty people almost as numerous as the English themselves, and their chief power was upon the sea. With them, at home, the

very land itself was one-half sea. They had been bred fishermen and mariners time out of mind; and of late, because the Spaniard provoked them to it, they had put great fleets on the high seas and had made conquests at the ends of the earth.

At first they had not thought of conquest. They had simply made themselves, with their stout craft and seasoned tars, the ocean carriers for Europe,—because the Portuguese, who had captured rich lands and set

VIEW OF QUEBEC ABOUT 1732

up a great trade all the way from the Persian Gulf to Japan, did not trouble themselves to bring their cargoes beyond their own port of Lisbon, and because the Spaniards brought their treasures out of South America no farther than Seville, and som one was needed to carry what they would sell to the merchants and princes of the rest of Europe. No doubt the Dutch would have been content to be only traders and carriers, had Spain but let them alone. But Spain, in her folly, undertook to force the Dutch to be Roman Catholics; and they, being stout Protestants and stubborn

A DESCRIPTION of *New England:*

OR

THE OBSERVATIONS, AND discoueries, of Captain *Iohn Smith* (Admirall of that Country) in the North of *America*, in the year *of our Lord* 1614: *with the ſucceſſe of ſixe Ships, that went the next yeare* 1615; *and the* accidents befell him among the *French men of warre.*

With the prooſe of the preſent benefit this Countrey affoords: whither this preſent yeare, 1616, *eight voluntary Ships are gone to make further tryall.*

At LONDON
Printed by *Humfrey Lownes*, for *Robert Clerke*; and are to be ſould at his houſe called the Lodge, in Chancery lane, ouer againſt Lincolnes Inne. 1616.

TITLE-PAGE OF JOHN SMITH'S "DESCRIPTION OF NEW ENGLAND"

men, resisted after a fashion that in the end set the whole power of rich Spain at naught. The war began in 1568; all Europe was stirred by it; and when, forty-one years later, the Spaniard, quite out of breath, agreed to a truce, the world had changed. Holland had become a great sea-power; had driven the Portuguese from the Orient, taking their trade and their colonies; was sinking imperial fleets upon the very coasts of Spain herself, and sweeping Spanish treasure by the ship's cargo into her own coffers. She was beforehand even with England in making herself mistress of the seas, and had turned to this new task of taking possession of America with confidence and audacity.

The Dutch combined conquest with trade, as England did, and it was a Dutch East India Company of merchants which drove the Portuguese from their possessions in the East, as it was an English East India Company of merchants which afterwards conquered India for England. And when their East India Company had made itself powerful and famous by its conquests and adventures, the Dutch formed a West India Company also, to trade and take what it could upon the western coasts of Africa, upon both coasts of South America, and among the southern islands of the Atlantic. It had, as Mr. Motley has said, a roving commission to trade and fight and govern for twenty-four years; and it incidentally undertook to establish Dutch settlements on the Hudson and the Delaware. Henry Hudson,[1] an English sailor in the service of the Dutch East India Company, had, in the year 1609, discovered the great river which was to bear his name,—the very year the baffled Spanish agreed to a truce with the redoubtable states of the Netherlands. He had also en-

[1] See page 274.

tered the great bay and stream of the Delaware. The Dutch had promptly named the Hudson the "Great North River," the Delaware the "South River," and all the rich country which lay about and between them "New Netherland"; meaning from the first to keep and occupy what their seamen had found.

There had been a New Netherland Company, formed

EARLIEST VIEW OF NEW AMSTERDAM

in 1614, before there was a West India Company. Its charter had given it commercial control of all the coast country of America from forty to forty-five degrees north latitude, a region which the Dutch described as lying "between New France [on the north] and Virginia." This was at the very heart of the country which James of England had granted to the Virginia Company; but the Dutch knew little of that, and would very likely have thought as little had they known more. It was the profitable fur trade with the Indians

of the Great North River that had first attracted them. Individual adventurers among them had built a small "fort" or trading post far up the river in the heart of the wilderness, as well as a little group of huts on the seaward point of Manhattan Island in the bay, and had been trafficking there with the willing natives for quite four years before they formed their New Netherland Company.

It was the New Netherland Company that grew into the greater West India Company, whose principal business it was to be to wrest what it could from the Portuguese and the Spanish in the south, but which was also to keep an eye all the while on the North and South rivers, where the New Netherland Company had put its trading posts. It was 1623 before the great company found time amid its other business to carry out any systematic plans of settlement in North America; but by 1625 there were already two hundred colonists on the lands they claimed: some up the great stream of the North River at the little post which they called Fort Orange, some within the South River at "Fort Nassau," some on Manhattan Island, a few on Long Island,—even a little group of families as far away as the "Fresh River," which the English were to call the Connecticut. It remained to be seen how they would fare scattered there in the wilderness; but there they were, a very hard people to discourage, by the time Virginia was fairly established in its own scattered settlements on the James, and the rights of the great Virginia Company taken into the hands of the King,—and there they meant to stay.

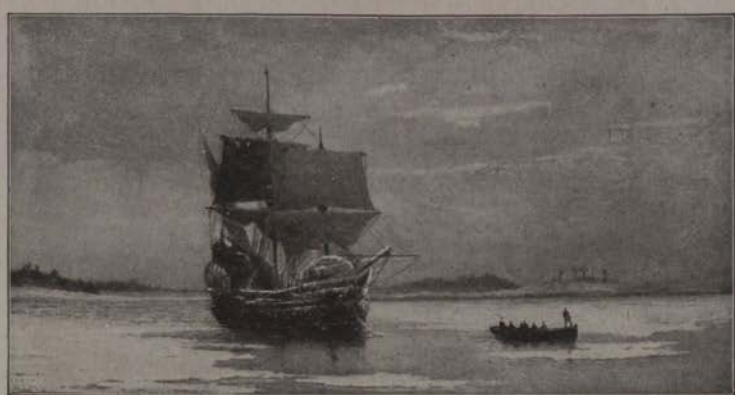
Meanwhile there had come out from Holland itself a band of exiled English settlers, to be their neighbors

DEPARTURE OF THE PILGRIMS FROM DELFT HAVEN

and rivals at the north, and so put them between two growing English colonies,—not "between New France and Virginia," as their first charter had said, but between New England and Virginia. The new-comers were exchanging a temporary exile in Holland for a permanent exile in America, and effected their settlement within the sheltering arm of Cape Cod. Englishmen had begun to muster many thousands strong in Holland within a generation, and the two countries had been drawn very near to each other. Long before the war began which brought Spain and the Netherlands to a grapple, hundreds of English merchants had established themselves in the Dutch seaports; and young Englishmen were beginning, even before dissenters were shut out from Oxford and Cambridge, to resort in influential numbers to the Dutch universities. When the Low Countries grappled with Spain, English volunteers crowded into their armies. The troops Elizabeth sent over after 1585 found the Dutch ranks already full of their countrymen. English churchmen, too, for whom the policy of the Establishment proved too rigorous under the imperious Tudor queens, had learned to seek in Holland the freedom of worship denied them at home. At the same time refugees from the ravage and slaughter of Alva's armies poured across the sea from the lower Netherlands into England, and the two countries seemed to be exchanging populations. Tradesmen, weavers, mechanics, farmers, fled terror-stricken into the eastern and southern counties of England, often braving the sea in open boats when danger pressed most desperately. Their coveted skill and industry, which English statesmen knew how to value, their foreign birth and humble rank in life, which seemed to

depress them below the level of political influence, gained for them an indulgence in theological error and separate worship which was denied to Englishmen themselves, and presently the English towns in the east and south teemed with thousands of Dutch artisans, who were suffered to be Anabaptists, Lutherans,—what they would, so long as they taught England the industries and handicrafts which were to make her rich.

The little company of Englishmen who, in 1620, ex-



THE MAYFLOWER IN PLYMOUTH HARBOR

changed Holland for America were not soldiers and traders like the men who had led and established the colony at Jamestown, but members, most of them, of a humble congregation of dissenters who had fled from the very districts of their native land in which foreign heretics were tolerated, to escape the tyrannical surveillance of the Church, and who had found a refuge for a time in the great university town of Leyden. They came now to America because they did not wish their children to become Dutch or lose altogether their Eng-

lish speech and customs, and because they could look to have an even more untrammelled freedom upon the fruitful coasts of the New World than in the ancient states of the Netherlands, into whose life they found themselves thrust like those who must be always aliens. They were Protestants, and had left England because they could not brook the domination of her Church; and yet the reason for their exile was as much political as religious. Many men in England, some of them high in the counsels of the Church itself, held the same doctrines that they held,—the doctrines which Calvin had made the creed and fundamental basis of belief among all Protestants of the sterner sort,—and yet were not exiles, because they had not broken, as these men had, with the discipline and authority of the Church.

England's Protestantism had a color and character of its own. Her "Reformation" had struck at the roots of nothing except the authority of the Pope at Rome. Her Church had always deemed itself national, had always held itself less subject than other churches to be ruled by papal delegates, or turned this way or that by the vicissitudes of continental politics and the policies of the papal state. She had broken with Rome at last, when the Reformation came, not because she was deeply stirred in thought and conscience by the doubts and the principles of belief which Luther had put afloat to the upsetting of Europe, so much as because her King, the wilful Henry, was vexed by the restraints put upon his marriages and divorces by the papal authority, and therefore chose to lead her still further along upon the road of independence to which her position and her pride inclined her, in religion no less than in politics.

HOUSE IN PLYMOUTH, ENGLAND, WHERE THE MAYFLOWER PILGRIMS WERE ENTERTAINED

When the change had been made, stupendous as it looked amid the ruin of the monastic houses which the King had promptly despoiled, Englishmen found themselves very little more at liberty than before to choose forms of worship or of church government for themselves. The Church had become more than ever a part of the state. The King was its head and master, instead of the Pope. He did not insist very much upon matters of doctrine, being himself in no case to set an example in that kind; but he did insist upon the authority of the Church in matters of government,—upon uniformity in worship and in discipline; because the discipline of the Church was now the discipline of the state, and part of his own sovereignty. He deemed schism a form of disloyalty, though opinion, if it kept within discreet bounds, he would not too curiously look into. It was an easy

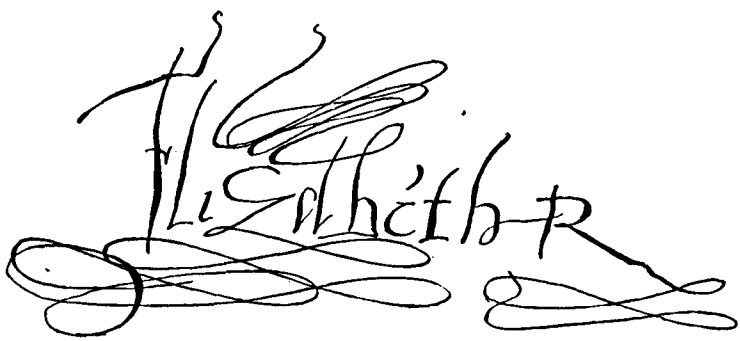
enough rule. Things might have gone very quietly and with a normal growth and liberalization, had not Mary, a fanatical Catholic, become Queen, and tried forthwith to force every one in the kingdom back into the Church of Rome; had not Elizabeth, in her turn, proved so absolute a martinet in every matter of obedience to the crown,—in matters which affected the Church no less than in matters which affected only her crown and government. Mary drove those who resisted her to the stake, or out of the kingdom. Elizabeth looked shrewdly into every movement that threatened the uniformity of worship, as changes of opinion inevitably did, and saw to it that all men were turned to adopt her preference.

Most persons quietly submitted. Even men of strong convictions deemed it better to remain within the Church and purify its beliefs and practices without schism or revolution than to fling out of it, breaking both its unity and the peace of the country. Such men even drew together as a distinct party of "Puritans,"—men who wished the Church to be pure and to hold the essential doctrines of the great reformers who had given life and substance to protestantism, but who did not mean to lead it faster than it could go in the new ways, or to separate themselves from it and set up a Church and worship of their own, even though it were the excellent forms and beliefs of the church of Geneva. Others, however, were of a more exacting conscience, a more imperious and separate way of belief. It meant a great deal to them to have come into direct contact with the Word of God, to have thought upon its living sentences with the free, unbidden, individual right of interpretation of which great Luther had set the example. It

Jo: wmthrop

JOHN WINTHROP

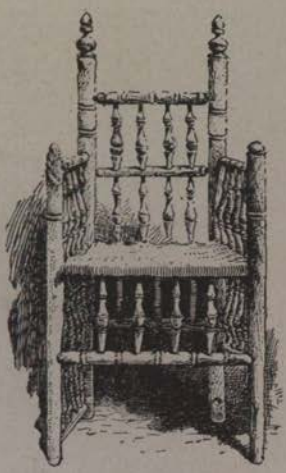
was King Henry himself who had authorized the publication of the Bible in English, and who had commanded that it be made accessible everywhere in the churches; and when once they had thought upon it for themselves and had found their thought, sober and chastened as it was, running in unsanctioned channels, some men preferred their own consciences and their own views of the truth to obedience, and refused to conform. They followed the example of the Dutch, now to be found almost everywhere among them, and set up independent con-



gregations,—became "Separatists," secretly and in defiance of the crown.

Elizabeth, bent upon being sovereign in all things, had grown harsher and harsher towards those who would not submit to authority in matters of belief and worship. Law upon law had been passed to prevent Englishmen from organizing any worship of their own which the bishops did not sanction; and whatever was law Elizabeth saw to it should be executed. And then, when Elizabeth was gone, James of Scotland came to the throne and completed the discomfiture and despair of those who had clung to the Church through all that

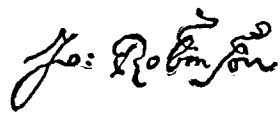
had gone before, in the hope of better times and more liberal ways of government. He had seemed a veritable Presbyterian so long as he was King of Scotland; but when he became King of England also he turned out to be of another opinion. "A Scottish presbytery," he exclaimed, "agreeth as well with a monarchy as God with the devil." He was head of the Church, he declared, not only because Henry had cast loose from Rome, but also because it was of divine ordinance and appointment that he should be. The bishops of the Church were his agents. "No bishop, no King," he said; and men found that they must obey the King in matters of religion as never before.



ELDER BREWSTER'S CHAIR

It was in the disheartening days of this new tyranny that the little company of "Separatists" fled from England into Holland who were afterwards to seek new shelter within Cape Cod in America. They had waited only until there should be peace between the Netherlands and Spain; and the truce had come at last in 1609 which gave them their freedom to go, following after scores of their countrymen who had gone before them. They had formed their separate association for worship in England three years before, in defiance of the law, meeting quietly in the old manor house at Scrooby, a little hamlet just within the borders of Nottinghamshire, on the great north road from London to Edinburgh. They were

humble folk, for the most part, of no social consequence, with only two or three scholars among them,—William Brewster, their elder, and John Robinson, their "teacher," and one or two others bred at Cambridge, men of strong convictions and an exalted sense of independence and duty, who had been driven from the Church for nonconformity. But, humble though they were, they could not keep their ways of worship hid from prying eyes. The law was rigorously enforced against them, and they soon found that they could have no peace in England.



They fled first to Amsterdam, but after about a year removed to Leyden (1609). There they made comfortable enough homes for themselves, by dint of careful thrift and hard labor. Their new neighbors liked them and helped them, because they found them capable, honest, and diligent. But it was not like being in England, after all. They felt themselves exiles all the while. Mr. Robinson, with his learning and his sweet eloquence, made friends and found congenial tasks at the university, where his gifts were recognized and honored; and Mr. Brewster established himself as a teacher, "instructing students at the university, Danes and Germans, in the English language," and even set up a printing-press, where books forbidden as heretical in England could be printed. Scholars were by breeding men of the world, and could adopt the manners and enjoy the companionships of a new country with a certain zest and relish. Mr. Brewster had known these strange places before. Close upon five-and-twenty years before, when the great war and tragic grapple with Spain was

at its heat, he had come into the Netherlands with William Davison, the hard-headed Scottish Puritan whom Elizabeth was pleased to employ as her ambassador in that quarter. He counted statesmen and travellers and men about the sovereign's person among his friends, and could be well enough at ease wherever duty or employment led him. But the majority of the little band were humble folk and found their lot hard. Even a bare living was difficult to eke out in a strange country, whose manners were as unfamiliar to them as its language. They saw their children growing up, too, as the years went by, in a way that threatened to make them as Dutch as their neighbors, and forfeit their nationality altogether; and that was deeply distasteful to them. When the truce approached its end, therefore, and war was again at hand, a final argument of discouragement was added, and they determined to try their fortunes in the New World, where Virginia had now become fairly established and seemed secure of its future.

A PILGRIM BABY'S CRADLE

They sent agents to London to speak with the managers of the Virginia Company, and obtain leave to settle within their grant. Mr. Brewster could go to Sir Edwin Sandys as to a man who knew him and would befriend him willingly. He had lived at Scrooby manor

house as agent of Sir Samuel Sandys, Sir Edwin's brother, and Sir Edwin knew his integrity and was of too liberal a temper to distrust him for his independency in matters of belief and worship. The exiles could count upon favor in that quarter, now that a statesman ruled in the counsels of the great company. They did not wish to go to Jamestown or to lose in any way their separate organization as a congregation by being merged with plantations already made; and for a little, while their negotiations with the Virginia Company dragged slowly, because Sir Edwin Sandys and its other leaders were of necessity called off to other things, they thought of entering into some arrangement with the Dutch West India Company to secure a separate allotment of land near the Great North River of New Netherland. But that plan fell through, and some of them at last set forth with a charter from the Virginia Company,—a charter conceived in the liberal spirit of the men who had sent Sir George Yeardley out to give Virginia a representative assembly and the full privileges of Englishmen.

By it their leaders were authorized to associate with themselves "the gravest and discreetest" of their companions and to make for themselves such "orders, ordinances, and constitutions for the better ordering and directing of their business and servants" as they should deem best, provided only that they should ordain nothing contrary to the laws of England. They were to be from the first their own masters in making a way to succeed. Not all could go. There was not money, there were not ships enough. Sir Edwin Sandys, with his generous public spirit in such matters, loaned them three hundred pounds without interest; but they had no resources of their own, and the rest of the money they

needed they were obliged to borrow from unwilling merchants who exacted the utmost usury, and made many delays about letting them have the little they consented to lend. It was the month of September, 1620, before those who could go, a hundred and two in all, got fairly upon their way, in a single small vessel, the *Mayflower*. Mr. Brewster went with them, as their leader, but Mr. Robinson stayed behind; for the greater number remained, to await a later opportunity, and wished to keep their pastor with them.[1]

Stress of weather kept the little *Mayflower* nine weeks on the Atlantic; and when at last, in the bleak days of late November, they sighted land, it turned out to be Cape Cod, and not the Virginia coast at all. The master of the ship had let his reckonings go wrong, was many leagues north of the land-fall he had been instructed to make, by the Bay of Delaware, and found himself, as he closed with the coast he had blindly come upon, involved in shoals from which he did not very well know how safely to extricate himself. The Virginia Company had been divided into two bodies, as Mr. Brewster's people knew very well, and the gentlemen in London from whom they had got their charter had no rights over this northern coast. It belonged now to the separate "Plymouth" branch of the company. The immigrants had half a mind to make for Hudson's River, after all. But the season was late and stormy, and the captain surly and unwilling, and they determined to land where they were and make the best of what they had hit upon. They took care first, however, to have some sort of government made ready for the landing. Their charter from the Virginia Company being no longer serviceable, and a few even of their little group of settlers being

[1] See page 292.

NEW ENGLISH CANAAN

OR

NEW CANAAN

Containing an Abſtract of New England,

Compoſed in three Bookes.

The firſt Booke ſetting forth the originall of the Natives, the Manners and Cuſtomes, together with their tractable Nature and Love towards the Engliſh.

The ſecond Booke ſetting forth the naturall Indowments of the Country, and what ſtaple Commodities it yealdeth.

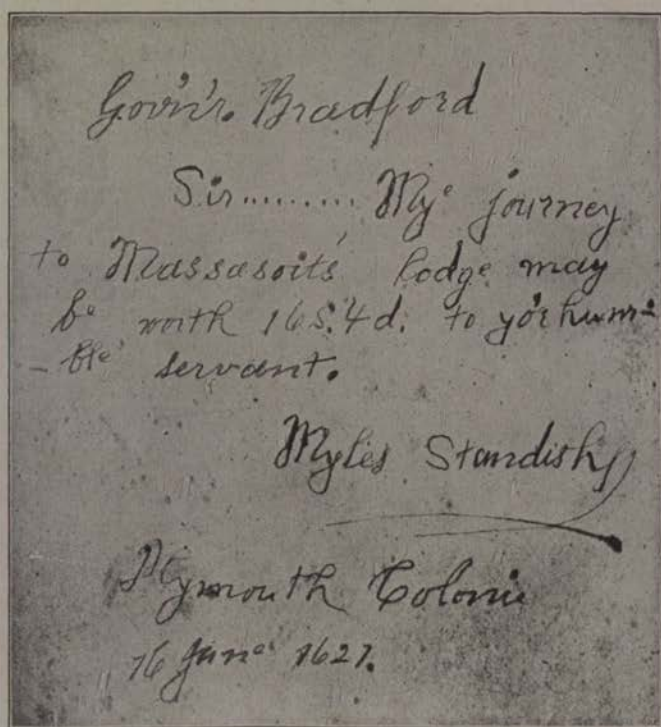
The third Booke ſetting forth, what people are planted there their proſperity, what remarkable accidents have happened ſince the first planting of it, together with their Tenents and practiſe of their Church.

Written by Thomas Morton of Cliffords Inne gent, *upon ten yeares knowledge and experiment of the Country.*

Printed at AMSTERDAM,
By JACOB FREDERICK STAM.
In the Yeare 1637.

TITLE-PAGE OF MORTON'S "NEW ENGLISH CANAAN"

persons taken aboard in England who were not of their congregation,—and not certain, therefore, to submit without compulsion to be governed by their authority and discipline,—they judged it best to draw up an agree-


Govnr. Bradford

Sir..... Wch journey to Massasoits Lodge may be with 16 s. 4 d. to yor hum: - Be servant.

Myles Standish

Plymouth Colonie 16 Junº 1627.

FACSIMILE OF A LETTER FROM MYLES STANDISH TO GOVERNOR BRADFORD

ment before going ashore,[1] by which all should bind themselves to accept the authority of their leaders, until, at any rate, they should obtain a grant of lands and of power from the Plymouth Company, upon whose coasts they were thus unexpectedly to be set down. That done, they were ready to make their landing, and

[1] See page 297.

see what sort of a home the new coast would afford them.

The shores of the sea within Cape Cod by no means showed the soft summer aspect which Captain John Smith had found upon them in 1614, when he had cruised along these coasts. They had reminded him then of green Devonshire and the soft slopes of England. But now they were bleak and frosted and desolate. The pilgrims were not men to lose heart, however, and their leaders were of such quality as to relish difficulty and find a zest in daring. Besides Mr. Carver, who had been their agent in obtaining the Virginia charter, which they could not use, and whom they had chosen to be their governor, first under their Virginian grant and now again under the voluntary compact signed there in the ship's cabin, Captain Myles Standish was of their company, whose people had served England ever since Agincourt, and before, who had himself fought, for the love of it, against the Spaniard in the Low Countries, and who, when the fighting was over, had happened upon their little congregation at Leyden, and had chosen to cross with them to America because he liked both them and the enterprise. There was Edward Winslow, also, a young gentleman of Worcestershire, who had in like manner chanced to come upon them in his travels and had of like preference cast in his lot with them; and William Bradford, of their own humble sort, who had gone with them into Holland when but a lad of twenty, had made himself a bit of a scholar while he plied his trade as a silk-weaver, and was now, at thirty, counted already a tried man of counsel and of action.

Several weeks elapsed before a suitable place was found for landing and erecting shelter; and even then

it was only "the best they could find,"—the quiet harbor, within a little bay, upon which Captain Smith had written "Plymouth" on the map he had sketched as

EDWARD WINSLOW

he passed that way, putting into bays and examining harbors with businesslike curiosity, six years before. January had come, and the first rigors of winter, before they got to work to put up shelter. Happily, the winter

A RELATION OR Iournall of the beginning and proceedings of the Engliſh Plantation ſetled at *Plimoth* in NEW ENGLAND, by certaine Engliſh Aduenturers both Merchants and others.

With their difficult paſſage, their ſafe ariuall, their ioyfull building of, and comfortable planting themſelues in the now well defended Towne of NEW PLIMOTH.

AS ALSO A RELATION OF FOVRE ſeuerall diſcoueries ſince made by ſome of the ſame Engliſh Planters there reſident.

I. In a iourney to PVCKANOKICK *the habitation of the Indians greateſt King* Maſſaſoyt : *as alſo their meſſage, the anſwer and entertainment they had of him.*

II. In a voyage made by ten of them to the Kingdome of Nawſet, *to ſeeke a boy that had loſt himſelfe in the woods : with ſuch accidents as befell them in that voyage.*

III. In their iourney to the Kingdome of Namaſchet, *in defence of their greateſt King* Maſſaſoyt, *againſt the* Narrohiggonſets, *and to reuenge the ſuppoſed death of their Interpreter* Tiſquantum.

IIII. Their voyage to the Maſſachuſets, *and their entertainment there.*

With an anſwer to all ſuch obiections as are any way made againſt the lawfulneſſe of Engliſh plantations in thoſe parts.

LONDON,
Printed for *Iohn Bellamie*, and are to be ſold at his ſhop at the two Greyhounds in Cornhill neere the Royall Exchange. 1622.

TITLE-PAGE OF MOURT'S "RELATION"

The earliest published book relating to Plymouth Colony

was mild, though icy cold, for all that. The strenuous work and cruel exposure of those first weeks, which wearily lengthened into months ere spring came, and the poor and insufficient food eked out from their scant supplies, brought upon them agues, fevers, scurvy, and all the other distempers that want and exposure bring, and they saw what the settlers at Jamestown had seen of the pitiless power of the wilderness. Before that dreadful season of suffering had passed full half their number were dead, Mr. Carver among the rest, and they had seen a time when there were but six or seven sound persons among them all to care for the scores who were stricken. But they were steadfast, as always. They elected Mr. Bradford governor in the stead of Mr. Carver, and went on as they could with their fight to live. They knew of no place to which to go back, and no one asked to go with the *Mayflower* when she set sail for England again in April.

They worked against tremendous odds there on that barren coast; but they wrung a living from it almost from the first, and year by year patiently learned to succeed at the hard thing they had undertaken. It was a great burden to them that they had had to borrow large sums of money from exacting London merchants to pay for the ship that was to take them out and for the stores she was to carry. They had been obliged to take the lenders into a sort of partnership, and very soon found that they were expected to return a profit almost from the outset, working for a common store as the hapless colonists of the Virginia Company had worked till sheer failure brought them a change of system. It was many a long year before they were able to buy themselves out of that quandary and begin

GOOD NEWES FROM NEW ENGLAND:

OR

A true Relation of things very remarkable at the Plantation of *Plimoth* in NEW-ENGLAND.

Shewing the wondrous providence and goodnes of GOD, in their preservation and continuance, *being delivered from many apparant deaths and dangers.*

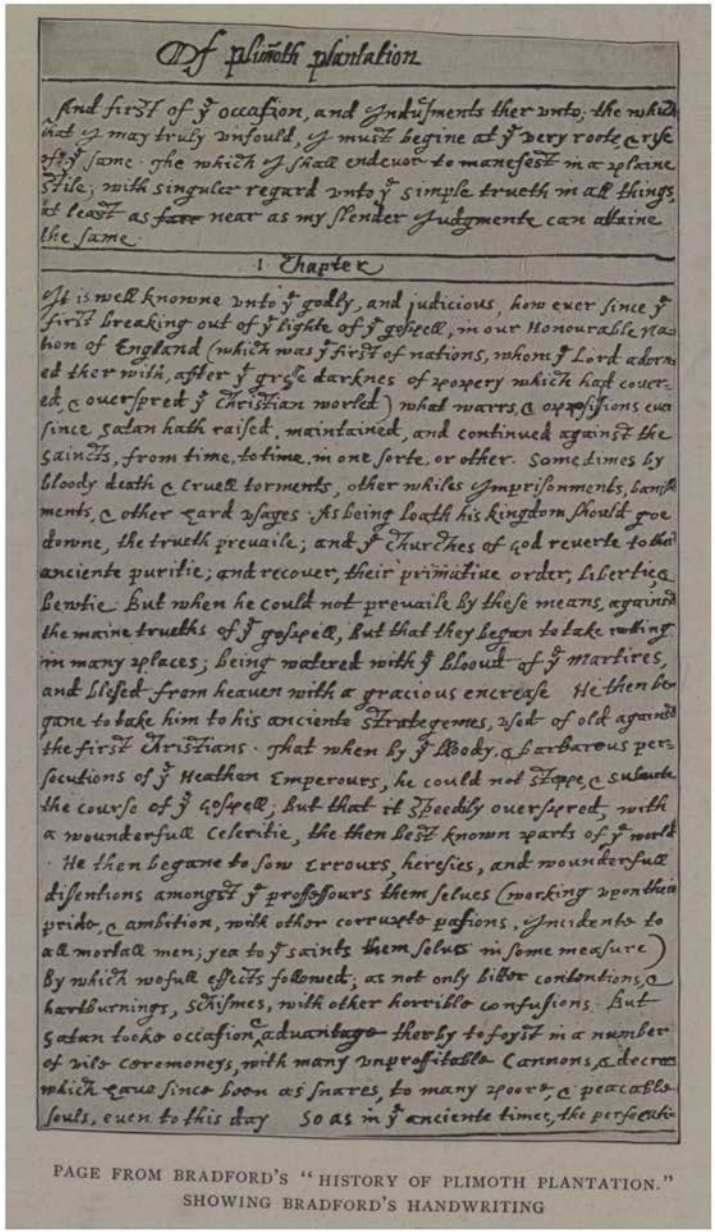
Together with a Relation of such religious and civill Lawes and Customes, as are in practise amongst the *Indians*, adjoyning to them at this day. As also *what Commodities are there to be raysed for the maintenance of that and other Plantations in the said Country.*

Written by *E. W.* who hath borne a part in the fore-named troubles, and there liued since their first Arrivall.

LONDON

Printed by *I. D.* for *William Bladen* and *John Bellamie*, and are to be sold at their Shops, at the *Bible* in *Pauls* Church-yard, and at the three Golden Lyons in Corn-hill, neere the *Royall Exchange*. 1624.

TITLE-PAGE OF EDWARD WINSLOW'S "GOOD NEWES"



Of Plimoth plantation

And first of ye occasion, and ynducments ther vnto; the which that I may truly vnfould, I must begine at ye very roote & ryse of ye same: the which I shall endeuor to manefest in a plaine stile; with singuler regard vnto ye simple truth in all things, at least as ~~farr~~ near as my slender Judgmente can attaine the same.

1 Chapter

It is well knowne vnto ye godly, and judicious, how euer since ye first breaking out of ye light of ye gospell, in our Honourable Nation of England (which was ye first of nations, whom ye Lord adorned ther with, after ye grose darknes of popery which had couered & ouerspred ye Christian worlde) what warrs & oppositions euer since Satan hath raised, maintained, and continued against the saincts, from time, to time, in one sorte, or other. Some times by bloody death & cruell torments, other whiles ympriſonments, banishments, & other hard vsages as being loath his kingdom should goe downe, the truth preuaile; and ye Churches of God reuerte to their anciente puritie; and recouer their primitiue order, libertie & lewtie. But when he could not prevaile by these means, against the maine truths of ye gospell, but that they began to take rooting in many places; being watered with ye bloud of ye martires, and blesed from heauen with a gracious encrease. He then bethought to take him to his anciente Stratagemes, vsed of old against the first Christians. that when by ye bloody & barbarous persecutions of ye Heathen Emperours, he could not stoppe, & suppresse the course of ye gospell; but that it speedily ouerspred, with a wounderfull celeritie, the then best known parts of ye world. He then began to sow errours, heresies, and wounderfull dissentions amongst ye professours them selues (working vpon their pride & ambition, with other corrupte passions, incident to all mortall men; yea to ye saints them selues in some measure) By which wofull effects followed; as not only bitter contentions, & hartburnings, schismes, with other horrible confusions. But Satan tooke occasion & aduantage therby to set vp in a number of vaine ceremoneys, with many vnprofitable Cannons & decrees which ever since haue been as snares, to many poore, & peaceable souls, euen to this day. So as in ye anciente times, the persecu-

PAGE FROM BRADFORD'S "HISTORY OF PLIMOTH PLANTATION." SHOWING BRADFORD'S HANDWRITING

at last a free life for themselves. Additional settlers came out to them in small companies, season by season; but they were not always such persons as they wished for. They were, too many of them, young fellows of an irresponsible and unmanageable sort, "who little considered whither or about what they went." It was not until a full ten years had gone by that the little congregation were able to fulfil their long-cherished hope and bring over from Leyden considerable numbers of their old-time comrades in exile; and before that time came Mr. Robinson, their beloved pastor, whom they had most desired, was dead.

They were not a little troubled, and even endangered, moreover, by helpless or unmanageable neighbors: bands of Englishmen of one sort or another,—some mere adventurers, others sober and earnest but not fit for the grim work of making homes or winning a livelihood in a wilderness such as that was,—who came to attempt settlements, or trade with the Indians, on the great Bay of Massachusetts near by. Sometimes it was necessary in mere pity to succor these people; sometimes it was necessary very summarily to check them or drive them off, lest they should make irreparable mischief with the Indians.

Despite every difficulty, nevertheless, Mr. Bradford's indomitable colonists made their foothold secure at Plymouth; worked themselves free from the London partnership; found how to get good crops, and what sorts of crops to get, out of the unwilling soil; established fisheries upon the near-by coasts, and trading posts here and there among the more distant Indian tribes,—one as far away as Kennebec, in Maine. The "Council for New England," which represented the new company estab-

lished in England to control and develop these northern coasts once included in the Virginia grants, was very glad to encourage these their unexpected colonists at Plymouth, and sent a liberal charter out to them by the very first ship that came from England after the return of the *Mayflower;* and when they were ready to ask for more privileges,—as, for example, for leave to set up a post on the Kennebec,—very promptly gave them what they asked for. By the time their old friends from Leyden came to them, in 1630, they had reason to feel secure enough in their new home, and had only their neighbors to fear,—only the past to sadden them.

It was at first only unruly or shiftless English settlers who gave them cause for uneasiness; but they had not been long at Plymouth before they were given reason to think about the Dutch also, as jealous neighbors and rivals who might cause them serious annoyance, if nothing worse. A very cordial treaty of alliance between England and Holland had been concluded when King James died, and his son, the first Charles, came to the throne, in 1625; and there was likely, for the present at least, to be peace and good will between the two peoples. But there was no telling how long it would last, and the Dutch were meanwhile growing very numerous and strong on Hudson's River. The treaty with England had, indeed, seemed to give the Dutch West India Company fresh heart for their enterprise in New Netherland. They immediately despatched thither an active man as governor, and began to erect warehouses and batteries of good stone masonry at "Fort Amsterdam" on Manhattan Island, where guns could command some portion of the great bay of the North River and the approaches to the great river itself very handily.

The scattered families at Fort Orange and on the South River, at Fort Nassau, were brought together for greater strength and security at Fort Amsterdam, and there were presently close upon three hundred settlers there, so busy with their labor and trading that before two years had gone by under the new governor (1628) they had sent home, in two ships alone, sixty-one thousand guilders' worth of timber from the forests, and of furs bought from the northern Indians. Mr. Bradford and his people at Plymouth set up a trading post some twenty miles to the southward on Buzzards Bay, but it turned out that the Dutch could beat them there; for it was chiefly on Long Island, which the Dutch controlled, that the *wampum* was to be obtained which the Indians accepted as money, and the Plymouth traders were at a serious disadvantage without it. They were cut off from the lucrative fur trade of the North River, and were every way pushed very hard by the shrewd Dutch traders.

The governors of the rival colonies exchanged very courteous letters, and the secretary of New Netherland was sent on a visit of ceremony and good will to Plymouth; but even in this friendly correspondence there were prophetic hints of something less gentle and peaceable. Bradford called Governor Minuit's attention to the fact that the Dutch were settled within the limits of grants made by the English crown to the Virginia Company, and that their right to be there might some day be called in question; and Minuit replied, very spiritedly, "As the English claim authority under the King of England, so we derive ours from the States of Holland,

and will defend it." No doubt, too, the secretary of the Dutch colony was sent upon his visit of courtesy as much to see how the English fared and report upon the strength of the Plymouth settlement as to carry messages of good feeling. It is from him that we learn what the pilgrim colony looked like in that early day, when it was but seven years old (1627): how a broad street, it might be eight hundred feet long, ran up the hill straight from the landing place in the harbor, and was crossed midway by another street, with four cannon in the open place at the crossing, and the governor's house close by upon the upper corner; how the houses, all of good hewn plank, stood in their little gardens ranged at intervals along the streets, and stockaded against attack; and how, crowning the hill, there stood a square building, large and very stoutly made, on whose top, as on a platform, there were six cannon placed, to command from their elevation the country round about and the harbor below, and within which was their place of meeting and of worship. They went always to church in military array, he said, their captain commanding, and laid their arms down close beside them while they worshipped and heard the sermon. They remembered their sojourn in Holland with much gratitude, and accorded the Dutch secretary a hearty welcome. But it was likely that New Amsterdam and New Plymouth would be keen rivals, nevertheless, and no love lost between them in the long run.

Authorities on the history of New Netherland and New York in the seventeenth century. The first volume of John Romeyn Brodhead's *History of the State of New York* gives the history of the Dutch period in a narrative of unusual dignity, lucidity, and fulness. The second volume brings the narrative down to 1691. Edward B. O'Callaghan's *History of New Netherland*, in two

volumes, is a careful and detailed narrative of the Dutch period only. Mr. John Fiske, in his *Dutch and Quaker Colonies*, sketches the whole length of New Netherland and New York history in his well-known broad and lucid way, with a wealth of incidental illustrative detail. William Smith's *History of the Late Province of New York from its Discovery to 1762* is contained in the *Collections* of the New York Historical Society. Bancroft and Hildreth both sketch the history of New York in tolerably full outline in their general histories of the country.

The *sources* of New Netherland and New York history are to be found chiefly in E. B. O'Callaghan's *Laws and Ordinances of New Netherland, 1638-1674*, and in the same author's *Documentary History of the State of New York;* in the fifteen volumes of E. B. O'Callaghan's and Berthold Fernow's *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York ;* in the *Memoirs* of the Long Island Historical Society ; in the *Publications* of the Hakluyt Society ; in Sainsbury's *Calendar of* [English] *State Papers, Colonial V.;* in Stedman and Hutchinson's *Library of American Literature;* in the *Appendix* to Read's *Henry Hudson ;* and in the *Records of New Netherland from 1653 to 1674*, edited by Berthold Fernow.

Authorities on the history of New Plymouth in the seventeenth century. John Gorham Palfrey's *History of New England* (1492-1774) and *Compendious History of New England* (1497-1765), the former in five and the latter in four volumes, are the standard general histories of the group of colonies of which Plymouth was the first. Mr. J. A. Doyle, in the second volume of his *English Colonies in America*, gives an excellent account of the Plymouth colony in the modern critical method. Mr. John Fiske sketches its history in his *Beginnings of New England.* Bancroft and Hildreth set it forth at some length in their histories. Mr. F. B. Dexter gives a brief critical sketch of it in the third volume of Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History of America.*

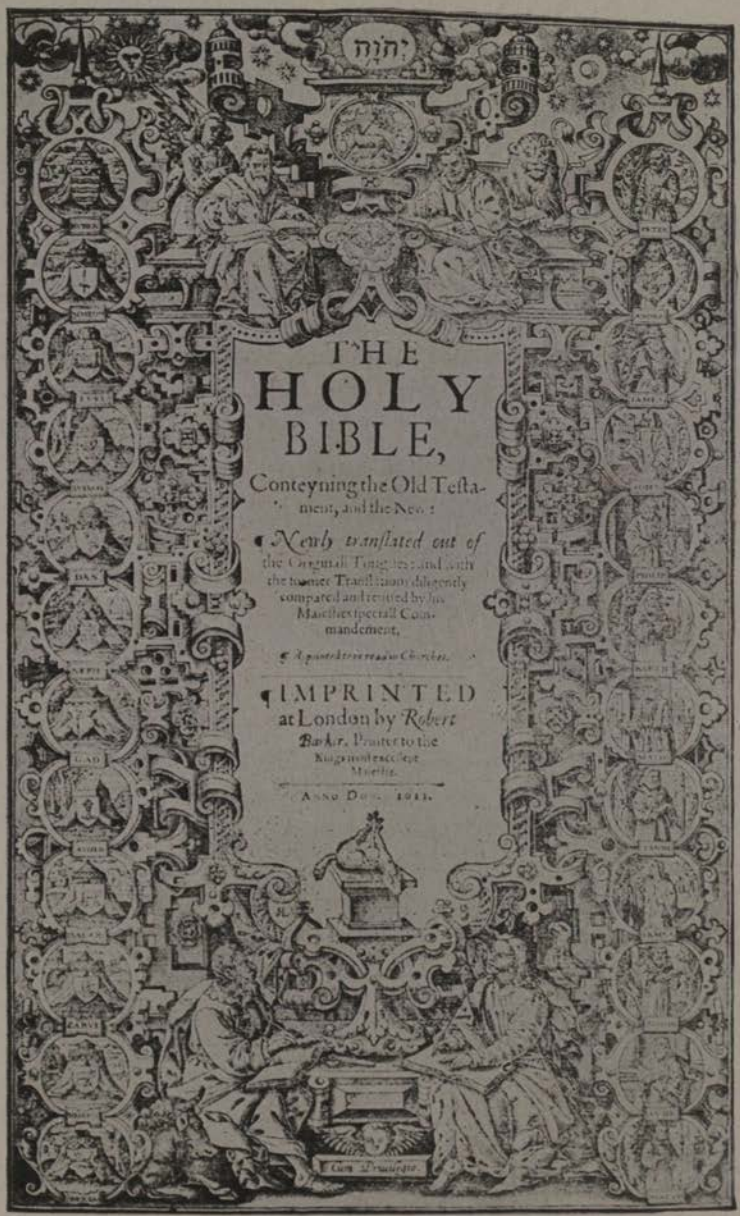
The *original sources* of the narrative are to be found, for the most part, in William Bradford's *History of the Plymouth Plantation*, always admirable for its accuracy and good temper, which brings the account down at first hand to 1647; in the *Plymouth Colony Records;* in the *Collections* of the Massachusetts Historical Society ; in Alexander Young's *Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers* and *Chronicles of Massachusetts;* and in Stedman and Hutchinson's *Library of American Literature.*

For accounts of the general Puritan movement in England of which the Plymouth emigration formed a part, see the references following Section III. of this chapter.

III. The Massachusetts Company

THE business of both Church and State had altered very ominously in England during the eventful years which brought James's reign to a close and gave Englishmen their first taste of Charles's quality. The air had filled with signs of revolution; and it was one of the most serious of these that the Puritans, who had once been merely champions of pure doctrine and a simplified worship within the Church, had now become a political party, and were trying to put a curb upon the King in every matter. At first they had thought that they might reform the Church, which they loyally loved, by the slow and peaceable ways of precept and example,—by preaching the new doctrines of Calvin, and by systematically simplifying the worship in their churches until they should have got the forms and notions of Rome out of them altogether. Elizabeth taught them that that was impossible while she was queen. Her harsh measures hardened their temper, and made them a distinct and active party: first for concert within the Church; now at last for concert also in matters of state, because the times had changed.

James had come to the throne and grievously disappointed them; and Charles, after him, had turned out to be not even a serious opponent of Rome itself. In 1618, while James was yet king, the terrible Thirty Years' War had come, that mighty struggle between the Prot-



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estant and the Roman Catholic states of the Continent, which threatened to tear away the very foundations of liberty and of national life, should the papacy prevail; and yet Charles had married a Roman Catholic princess, and showed himself as ready to make bargains with Roman Catholic as alliances with Protestant princes. Moreover, he was as indifferent to the political rights of his subjects as he was to their Protestant opinions. When his Parliament, disapproving his policy, refused to vote him money, he levied taxes without their consent, and seemed determined to break as he pleased every understanding of the constitution. The salvation of the Church and the salvation of the liberties of England he made to seem one and the same thing: for he would respect neither law nor opinion. And so the chief Puritan gentlemen of the kingdom became politicians, and filled the House of Commons with men of their way of thinking, grimly determined to make a single piece of work of the purification of the Church and the maintenance of liberty. Charles found no way to be rid of their protests except to do without a Parliament altogether; and to that at last he made up his mind. He dismissed the Parliament of 1629, resolved to have done with Parliaments. For eleven years he kept his resolve. No Parliament was summoned; money was raised without warrant of law; and the government was conducted entirely as he willed.

It was in that way he brought a great revolution on and lost his head, for he was dealing with men who could not safely be defied. But for the moment he seemed master. The first shock of such events was enough to dismay men who were lovers of law and of right, who

had intended no revolution, who had meant to fight tyranny only by legal process and in behalf of privileges acknowledged time out of mind. Even stout-

JOHN CALVIN

hearted men lost hope for a little, and thought their cause undone in that dark year 1629, when they saw their leaders in the King's prisons, and the King masterful and hot against all who dared so much as protest. And so a new exodus began, not to Holland this time,

but direct to America,—an exodus not of separatists, of whom the law had already made outlaws, but of those sober Puritans who had remained in the Church, and had been its hope of reform.

A company had been formed among them for the purpose of attempting a settlement in America even before the end of all Puritan hopes had seemed to come. Lands had been purchased from the Council for New England in March, 1628, and a party of settlers had been sent out that very summer under John Endecott, a blunt, passionate, wilful man, hard to deal with, but more efficient than any other the company could find, and more likely to succeed. He chose Salem, not far within the northern cape of the great Bay of Massachusetts, as his place of settlement; and when a large body of new settlers were sent out to him the next summer he and his people were ready for them, with houses built and crops ripening. That same year, 1629,[1] the company in England obtained a charter from the crown, and assumed a new importance and authority as "The Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay in New England."

There could have been no better time to get recruits for a Puritan colony,—not mechanics merely, and such humble folk, or men out of employment, but people of substance also, who would give themselves and their fortunes to the enterprise, in the hope that they might at any rate find freedom of conscience, and establish a free state in America. Most of those who entered the company meant also to become its colonists. The company itself, therefore, was transferred over sea, its governor and council themselves taking ship to the colony they were to govern. There was not to be a

[1] See page 301.

"Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay" set up in London to rule and dispose of a distant colony, as the Virginia Company had ruled Virginia. It was

JOHN ENDECOTT

to have its seat where it had its possessions. It kept still a group of its incorporators in London, organized for the management of its financial interests; and the

law officers of the crown no doubt for a time deemed these the council of the company itself. But they learned presently that they were not. The real rulers of the new colony had no mind to conduct their business in London in open courts under the eye of the King and draw all the talk of the town upon them, as the Virginia Company had done, to its undoing. There was nothing in their charter which prescribed where the councils of the company should meet. They made bold, therefore, to take their charter and all the business done under it with them to America. More than seventeen ships and a thousand colonists got away from the western and southern seaports,—Bristol, Plymouth, Weymouth, Southampton,—in the spring and summer of 1630,[1] Mr. John Winthrop, a man of gentle breeding, of education, of private means, and of the high principles of the best Puritan tradition, a man trained to the law, and, what was much better, schooled in a firm but moderate temper, sweet yet commanding, going out as governor to supersede Endecott. Thomas Dudley went as his deputy, a man cast in another mould, and of another type, a doughty Puritan soldier who had served under Henry of Navarre; an uncompromising partisan, more man-at-arms than statesman.

Want and disease had done their accustomed work among Endecott's people before the new governor and company reached the Bay. Mr. Higginson, who had written them from Salem scarcely a year ago that "a sup of New England's air was better than a whole draught of old England's ale," was hardly able to stand to preach to them when they landed, a fatal fever having taken hold upon him. It was necessary to separate at once and begin other settlements where Mr. Winthrop's

[1] See page 320.

NEVV-ENGLANDS PLANTATION.

OR,

A SHORT AND TRVE DESCRIPTION OF THE COMMODITIES AND DISCOMMODITIES of that Countrey.

Written by a reuerend Diuine now there resident.

Higginson

LONDON,
Printed by T.C. and R.C. for *Michael Sparke*, dwelling at the Signe of the *Blew Bible* in *Greene Arbor* in the little *Old Bailey*.
1630.

TITLE-PAGE OF FRANCIS HIGGINSON'S BOOK

people might prepare shelter for the winter. As soon as possible, therefore, places were chosen. Watertown, Roxbury, Boston, Dorchester were begun, and the preparation of Charlestown, already begun before their coming, was pushed forward, — all places far within the Bay, where groups of sheltering islands shouldered out the heavier seas, and harbors were quiet. But the work was sadly belated. Autumn had come and was gone before much could be accomplished. A full hundred of the immigrants lost heart and went back with the ships to England. Winter found those who remained short of food and still without sufficient shelter, and want and disease claimed two hundred victims among them. Even the ships they despatched hastily to England for corn brought very little when they came again, for grain was scarce and dear at home also.

With the spring came health and hope again, as always; but bad news, too. Those who had returned home disheartened had spread damaging reports about the colony, not only telling of the sore straits it was in to live, but also declaring that Mr. Winthrop and his people had openly repudiated the Church of England and turned separatists, like the people at Plymouth. It was difficult to quiet these reports, because they were practically true. It was not easy to explain away what had undoubtedly been done. Both the immigrants with Mr. Endecott at Salem and those who had come with Mr. Winthrop had left home members of the Church of England: Puritans and reformers, indeed, but still not separatists, and publicly professing a warm loyalty for the mother Church. "We esteem it an honor," they had said, as they uttered their final partings at Yarmouth, "to call the Church of England, from whence

we rise, our dear mother." "We shall always rejoice in her good, . . . and while we have breath sincerely desire and endeavor the continuance and abundance of

Myles Standish

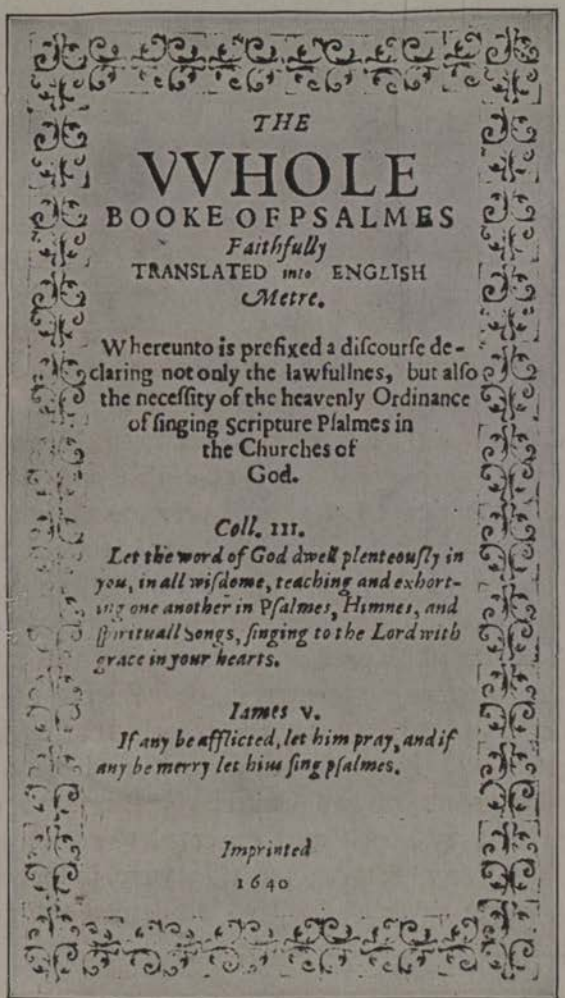
MYLES STANDISH

her welfare, with the enlargement of her bounds." And yet Endecott had hardly begun his settlement at Salem before he took counsel with Mr. Brewster and other lead-

ers at Plymouth, and rearranged both the worship and the government of his church after their model. Mr. Winthrop's people had done the same. Those who protested and showed themselves unwilling to accept the new ways of church government were compelled either to conform or return home to England. The whole thing looked like the carrying out of a deliberate plan made beforehand to get rid of the Church as well as of the government of England: to set up a separate church along with a separate commonwealth.

They could hardly say that it was the necessary result of their removal to a distant continent; for the numerous body of Englishmen long ago settled in Virginia had done nothing of the sort, though they maintained their own churches. The Virginians had remained staunch supporters of the Church as it was at home. Their own assembly had passed strict laws to enforce the accustomed discipline of the English Church and to protect its forms of worship. It could not be said that they did not love their freedom as much as the settlers at Plymouth and the Bay loved theirs. They were glad enough to have an ocean between them and the bishops, did not hesitate to discard the surplice, simplified their worship as they pleased, and took leave to make very free use of the opportunity to rule their own affairs. But they loved none the less the ancient Church in which they had been bred, and they meant to maintain it.

Virginia had been planted before the full warmth of the Puritan temper had made itself felt in England, when it was esteemed a reproach to be called a separatist, and a proud duty which went along with a man's allegiance to hold fast to the standards of the nation's


THE

VVHOLE BOOKE OF PSALMES

Faithfully
TRANSLATED into ENGLISH
Metre.

Whereunto is prefixed a diſcourſe declaring not only the lawfullnes, but alſo the neceſſity of the heavenly Ordinance of ſinging Scripture Pſalmes in the Churches of God.

Coll. III.

Let the word of God dwell plenteouſly in you, in all wiſdome, teaching and exhorting one another in Pſalmes, Himnes, and ſpirituall ſongs, ſinging to the Lord with grace in your hearts.

Iames V.

If any be afflicted, let him pray, and if any be merry let him ſing pſalmes.

Imprinted
1640

TITLE-PAGE OF THE "BAY PSALM BOOK"

Church. Virginia had been recruited, too, as she grew, not out of a special class like the Puritans, with a cause at their hearts, but out of the general body of the English people, in whose lives and thoughts the disputes which grew so keen from year to year within the Church played very little part. They had brought their religious beliefs and their forms of worship with them to Virginia as habits in their blood, unseparated and undistinguished from their English citizenship. The new settlers on Massachusetts Bay, on the contrary, had been selected out of a special class. They were men bent for conscience' sake upon setting up a particular standard of their own both in church and in state. They had a deliberate plan from the first to withdraw themselves from the general body of Englishmen and establish in America what should seem to them "a due form of government, both civil and ecclesiastical." "God sifted a whole nation that He might send choice grain out into this wilderness," one of their own preachers said. They tried to explain away their novel proceedings when they wrote to persons of influence at home; they tried to persuade even themselves that they were not separatists, but only a distant and necessarily distinct fragment of the Church of England, of the form which they hoped and expected to see that great Church some day assume; but they were, in fact, founding a separate establishment which denied the authority of the mother Church altogether.

Virginia had slowly grown to a population of five thousand while the Puritans organized their company and transported it to America. Virginians bore themselves very much as Englishmen did everywhere. There

A VIRGINIA PLANTER WITH HIS ATTENDANTS IN HIS BOAT ON THE JAMES RIVER

was nothing peculiar about them except their hardihood, as of frontiersmen, and their knowledge of how life was to be managed and set forward in a wilderness. It had not made much difference among them that the Virginia Company was dissolved and the colony put into the hands of the King. For the first four years that followed the change no assemblies were summoned, it is true, and they were ruled by the governors and the governors' councils whom the King appointed. But the governors chosen by the King during those years were men of their own number, their trusted friends, already experienced in their affairs, men whom the company also had employed. Leading men of the colony were appointed to the council also. The general interest was consulted, though there were no elections. Before a governor not to the people's taste was put over them the old practice of calling assemblies had been resumed. Virginians wished their individual rights to be left untouched, and watched their government narrowly to see that it did not impose upon them; but their life went well enough, and they were not disposed to seek radical changes either in church or state.

They were not settled in close groups, and were not always discussing their common affairs, as men do who live together in towns or organize themselves in compact neighborhoods for business. There was no real town in the colony, except Jamestown. The homes of the colony were scattered through wide neighborhoods along the margins of the rivers, which flowed broad and deep and from every quarter, the natural highways of the place. Each planter farmed as much of the fertile land as he could; but he planted little for sale

DUTCH WEST INDIA COMPANY'S HOUSE, HAARLEM STREET, AMSTERDAM

except tobacco. His tobacco he shipped away in vessels which came to his own wharf and the wharves of his neighbors to be laden. It was not hard to live in that genial climate. Great clearings had at last been made;

the sun had been let wholesomely in to take the feverish vapors of the forest off, and the land had begun to yield health as well as abundance. Secluded country churches were the neighborhood gathering places of the colony, for talk as well as for worship. Planters made their way to Jamestown down the rivers in their own boats, or through the quiet paths of the forest on horseback, to be present at the gathering of the assembly, or to attend the quarterly meetings of the governor's council, at which lawsuits were heard and determined. It was all a leisurely way of life, and was not apt to bring changes rapidly about so long as the King suffered them to enjoy their reasonable liberty as Englishmen and did not put men who wished to rule overmuch into their governor's chair.

New Netherland grew also, in a way which might have looked to a chance visitor very like the growth of Virginia. The Dutch West India Company had found that if they kept to the plan with which they had begun, they could not hope to make anything more than a mere trading station out of their slow-growing settlement at Fort Amsterdam. The council of the company, accordingly, determined to offer large tracts of land to any one who would send over at his own cost fifty adult settlers, with stores and equipment,—and with the land extraordinary powers of independent control, which should constitute the owner a sort of feudal prince, as "patroon" and lord of his estate. The offer had in it the enticing prospect of dignity and power and safe wealth, such as the landed gentry of Holland had time out of mind enjoyed and the merchants of the towns had envied them as long, and some were tempted, as the

company had hoped. Some rich men did bestir themselves to send settlers over, and great stretches of the best land on both the North and the South rivers of New Netherland were presently made over to private owners. It was no easier, however, for private individuals than it had been for the company to bring the land success-

ENGLISH GENTLEMAN, 1633

ENGLISH GENTLEWOMAN, 1631

fully under cultivation, or to establish settlements which would thrive and endure; and the new way of building up the colony went as slowly as the old. Many of the new proprietors failed; only a few succeeded. The most notable of the estates which were actually peopled and established was that of Kilian van Rensselaer,

the wealthy jeweller of Amsterdam, which stretched for miles upon either bank of the North River in the fertile region far up the stream where the company's Fort Orange stood, and where the heart of the fur trade with the Indians was.

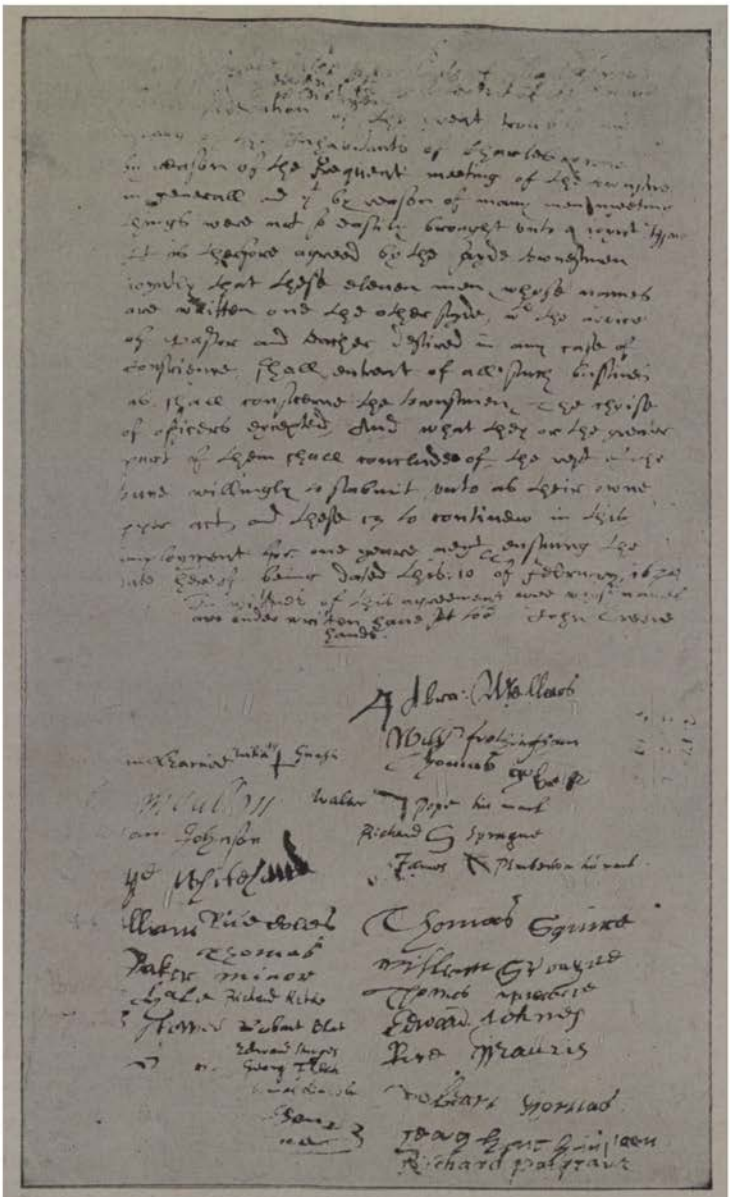
Even where this new way of growth succeeded, however, it was in fact very different from the slow and natural spread of broad plantations in Virginia, where no man was by law more privileged than another. The Dutch farmers and peasants who slowly filled the estates of the patroons with tenants were not like the free

SIGNATURE OF KILIAN VAN RENSSELAER, PATROON

yeomen of the southern colony of the English. They were just as little like the New England colonists to the northward. Among these settlement had still another way of growth. They did not develop by the slow spreading of private estates along the river valleys. The New England valleys were not fertile; the rivers were not deep or broad enough to be the highways of the colony. The sort of government the Puritan settlers wished to maintain, moreover, would have been almost impossible had the people not kept together in close groups for common action and worship. The governor and company who ruled Massachusetts Bay governed there very watchfully in the midst of the settlements, and took care to know the men to whom they

made grants of land. Sometimes they made grants to individuals for special services or liberal contributions to the company's funds; but usually they gave land only to bands of settlers who meant to form communities, and who were under the leadership of persons whom the governor and his associates trusted. The new settlers of each locality owned their lands jointly, as if they were a corporation. Their "town meeting" determined what portion each individual among them was to have for his own use. No other settlers could join them unless admitted by their town meeting to the partnership. All local affairs were managed by officers whom the town meeting elected. Each town, the newest no less than Salem or Charlestown or Roxbury or Boston, was its own mistress, except when matters which the company determined in the common interest were to be acted on.

In each town there were "selectmen" chosen to administer the general business of the town; constables to keep order; cowherds to take the cattle to the common pasture, keep them there while their owners did their tasks through the day, and bring them back at sunset; swineherds to drive the swine to their feeding and return them safe in the evening; a hayward to catch stray beasts and keep them fast till they were claimed: a man for each simple duty. The swineherd made his way along the village streets early in the morning, sounding his horn, and every man who had swine brought them out to him at the summons to join his noisy procession, going forth to the woods for their feeding for the day. The cowherd took all his lowing charges to pasture from a common pen, to which their owners brought them in the grey of the dawn, and was charged



FACSIMILE OF ORDER CREATING BOARD OF SELECTMEN, CHARLESTOWN, 1634

to be back with them ere the sun should set. The town meeting decided all things, small and great. It did not hesitate to order in what way the houses should be set and roofed and distributed along the street, and their gardens disposed about them. In Newtown the freemen ordered by vote that all houses within the village "be covered with slate or board, and not with thatch," and that they be built so that they should "range even" and stand just six feet from the street. Every freeman and proprietor of the village had his vote in the meeting, and deemed himself self-governed when it governed him.

The government of the colony as a whole was by no means so democratic. The "company" governed; and the company consisted only of those who were admitted as "freemen" by its own vote. At first there were only twenty such among all the thousand settlers at the Bay, and twelve of these twenty were the officers of the company. By slow degrees the number was enlarged; but the company was very reluctant and very cautious about increasing its membership. Four years went by before there were so many as three hundred and fifty "freemen," and by that time there were more than three thousand settlers. The new and very severe rule was adopted that no one should be chosen a freeman who was not a member of some one of the churches of the settlements. In England every subject was reckoned by law a member of the Church of England; but in Massachusetts men became members of the churches only by profession of faith and upon a searching examination in matters of doctrine and worship. Those who did not hold the strict creed of the Puritan ministers, being excluded from the church, were excluded also from voting.

"The best part is always the least," was Mr. Winthrop's sententious doctrine, "and of that best part the wiser part is always the lesser."

The rule of doctrine and church authority did not stop with a restriction in the number of freemen who should vote in the company's general court. Men were fined, whipped, sentenced to have their ears cut off, or banished the colony altogether for speaking scandalously of either the church or the government. Several who had come to the Bay before the Massachusetts Company was formed were so put upon and sought out for prosecution by their new masters, the magistrates of the company, for their refusal to conform to the new practices in matters of worship, that they finally resisted to the length of bringing sentence of banishment upon themselves, or voluntarily took themselves off to escape the searching tyranny. It was a very rigorous government, under which only those could live and be at ease who professed and proved themselves Puritans; and common men suffered more than gentlemen, after the manner of the age, so that it seemed an aristocratic as well as an ecclesiastical establishment.

The King and his ministers over sea did not fail to observe how the company made its colony a stronghold for the obstructive Puritans. The temper of Charles's government grew harsher and harsher during those first years of settlement at the Bay, and became as meddlesome and tyrannical in the management of the Church as in the management of the State. In 1633 he had made Laud Archbishop of Canterbury. Now he was backing the implacable primate in a thoroughgoing and pitiless attempt to clear the Church of all Puritans and nonconformists. Laud was quick to see

W: Cant:

WILLIAM LAUD,
ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

what comfort the rapidly growing colony at Massachusetts Bay gave his enemies, and complained very hotly that it was filling up with persons openly hostile to the King's government. Certain persons connected with the old Council for New England, jealous of the

prosperous company at the Bay, with its independent royal charter, easily persuaded the all-powerful archbishop, and through him the law officers of the crown, to take steps to destroy it; and in 1635 the blow came. A judgment was obtained against the Massachusetts charter in the court of King's Bench; the government of the colony was declared transferred into the King's hands, as the government of Virginia had been, and orders were issued which authorized the despatch of a governor-general, to be accompanied, if necessary, by an armed force. Mr. Cradock, who presided over the company's financial board in London, had been summoned by the imperious primate and by my lord Privy Seal to come before them for an explanation, and bring the charter of the company with him; and had been rated very roundly as an "imposturous knave" when he declared that it had been sent over sea with the colonists. But the spiriting away of its charter had not been allowed to stay the judgment against the company.

The magistrates at the Bay, when the ugly news reached them, came to the desperate resolution to resist by force. But troubles in England saved them. Their charter was, indeed, in law annulled, but the judgment was not carried out. The King's purse was empty. His subjects were very slow about paying the illegal taxes he demanded of them. Signs of revolution were growing more and more frequent, more and more open and ominous. Charles could not afford to send an expensive expedition out to New England, and was much too anxious about things at home to think very often about the little group of troublesome settlements across the sea. Mr. Winthrop and his associates,

accordingly, lived quietly on under their forfeited charter, as if nothing had happened, and admitted no one they did not like to the partnership.

An introduction to the various phases of *the Puritan movement* in England, which led to the Puritan exodus to America, may be got in G. H. Curteis's *Dissent in its Relation to the Church of England* (the Bampton lectures for 1871); in David Masson's *Life and Times of Milton*; in D. Neal's *History of the Puritans*; in Samuel R. Gardiner's *History of England from the Accession of James I.*, volumes I. and IV.; in the second volume of J. R. Green's *History of the English People*; in G. E. Ellis's *Puritan Age and Rule*; and in the second volume of J. A. Doyle's *English Colonies in America.*

The leading *general authorities* on the history of Massachusetts in the seventeenth century are John Gorham Palfrey's *History of New England* (1492–1774) and *Compendious History of New England* (1497–1765); J. A. Doyle's second and third volumes on *The English Colonies in America*; John Fiske's *Beginnings of New England*; S. R. Drake's *The Making of New England*; and Justin Winsor's *Memorial History of Boston.*

Glimpses of some of the most important special aspects of Massachusetts history are to be had in W. B. Weeden's *Economic and Social History of New England*; Charles Francis Adams's *Three Episodes of Massachusetts History*; and Herbert B. Adams's *Germanic Origin of the New England Towns,* published in the first volume of the *Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science.*

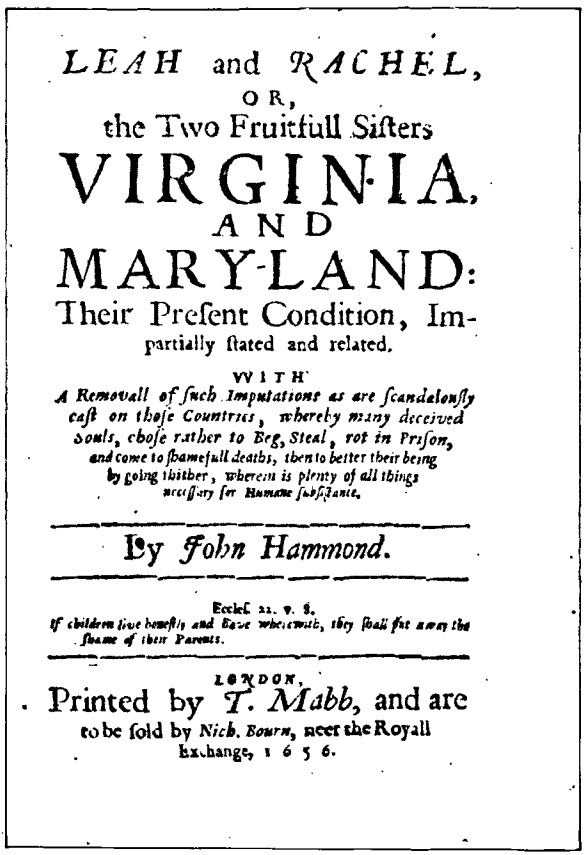
Most of the important *original sources* of Massachusetts history are brought together in John Winthrop's *History of New England,* edited by J. Savage and *The Life and Letters of John Winthrop,* edited by R. C. Winthrop; in the *Collections* and *Proceedings* of the Massachusetts Historical Society; in Alexander Young's *Chronicles of Massachusetts*; in the *Records of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay*; in Peter Force's *Tracts and Other Papers relating to the Colonies in North America*; in the *Publications* of the Prince Society; in the papers of the American Antiquarian Society; and in the *New Hampshire Historical Collections.*

IV. The Province of Maryland

It was a thing for statesmen to take note of, and all to wonder at, how Englishmen of all sorts and creeds began to think of America, and to desire homes there, when once it had become evident that Virginia and Plymouth and the Massachusetts settlements were certainly permanent, and colonization no mere scheme of the foolhardy.[1] There were others besides the Puritans who felt uneasy at home in England because of the troubles in church and state and the threatening face of affairs. For men who loved novelty and adventure, life in the New World had always a charm which even direst hardship could not take away; but such men were nowhere in a majority, and it was not mere love of adventure that made the English swarm to America. It was the spirit of liberty and of mastery. It was the most spirited men who were the most uneasy in those evil days of the Stuart kings; and because they were cramped and thwarted and humbled at home they thought the more often and the more wistfully of the freedom they might find in America. Virginia had been planted and had thriven, it is true, before there was this sting of uneasiness to drive men over sea. She had been created because of the spirit of trade and of conquest, the impulse of international rivalry, the love of gain, and the capacity for independent action which had come to Englishmen in the stirring sixteenth century; and it was, after all, that "ancient, primitive,

[1] See page 326.

and heroic work of planting the world" which was to prove the permanent motive of English success in America. But now, for the time being, there was added to



LEAH and *RACHEL*,
OR,
the Two Fruitfull Sisters
VIRGINIA,
AND
MARY-LAND:
Their Present Condition, Impartially stated and related.

WITH
A Removall of such Imputations as are scandalously cast on those Countries, whereby many deceived Souls, chose rather to Beg, Steal, rot in Prison, and come to shamefull deaths, then to better their being by going thither, wherein is plenty of all things necessary for Humane subsistance.

By *John Hammond.*

Eccles. 22. v. 3.
If children live honestly and leave wherewith, they shall put away the shame of their Parents.

LONDON,
Printed by *T. Mabb*, and are to be sold by *Nich. Bourn*, neer the Royall Exchange, 1656.

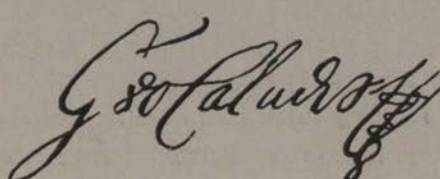
TITLE-PAGE OF HAMMOND'S "LEAH AND RACHEL"

the high spirit of mastery the unquiet spirit of discontent, and America reaped a double harvest.

It happened that Roman Catholics felt almost as uneasy as Puritans. James, it was true, had proved

himself no Presbyterian, after all, and Charles had put Laud at the head of the Church, as if to carry it back as far as possible towards Rome, if not all the way to Rome itself. But it needed no seer to perceive how the temper of the nation darkened at sight of these things, and no thoughtful Roman Catholic could find sound reason to hope for a long period of toleration. America would no doubt prove a freer place for Roman Catholics as well as for Puritans, and their exodus began the very year Laud became primate. It was for them that Maryland was founded by Cecilius Calvert, Lord Baltimore.[1] It was a scheme he had inherited from his father. Sir George Calvert had been a very noticeable figure when James was king. He had stood in the Commons, alongside Wentworth, his friend, as spokesman for the King, whose intimate companion and devoted servant all knew him to be, facing Sir Edwin Sandys there, to whom the House had looked for leadership since it began to fear that James meant some deep mischief to the liberties of England. There was much to admire in his courtesy, his tact and moderation, his unobtrusive devotion to affairs. He had none of Wentworth's striking initiative and vigor, and showed a modesty, gentleness, and acquiescence in the service of the court which seemed mere weakness to those who looked on; and yet he was greatly trusted and won deep esteem. The opponents of the crown in Parliament thought him servile, and suspected him of being corrupt, like the rest of the King's agents; but those who knew him said that he acted upon conviction in making choice which side he should take, and both in public and in private bore himself like a man of honor.

[1] See page 326.



GEORGE CALVERT

In the last year of the reign he had resigned his offices and withdrawn from the King's service, while still in his prime. He had become a convert to Roman Catholicism, had committed himself with the energy of real conviction to bringing about the marriage of Prince Charles to the princess of Spain, and would not draw back to please either the prince himself or great Buckingham, because he deemed both the cause of Catholicism and the plighted word of England, given in solemn treaty, involved in the project. His position at court had become untenable, and he withdrew both to save his interest and to give candid expression to his religious convictions. James had created him Baron Baltimore at parting, as a special evidence of his good will, and then Calvert had turned to devote himself to plans of colonization. He had been a large subscriber to the funds of the East India Company, had become a member of the New England Company, and had served on the commission appointed in 1624 to wind up the affairs of the great Virginia Company. As far back as 1620 he had interested himself in colonizing schemes of his own, while he was yet in the midst of affairs,—before Plymouth was founded. He had bought an extensive tract of land lying on the southern peninsula of Newfoundland; had put colonists upon it; and when he turned from holding office under the King, had himself gone to reside among his settlers.

But a single year in that rigorous climate, with its icy cold from October to May, convinced him it was no place in which to build a colony, especially with the French near at hand to be reckoned with, in addition to the weather. The French upon the near-by coasts had not forgotten how Captain Argall had put in at their

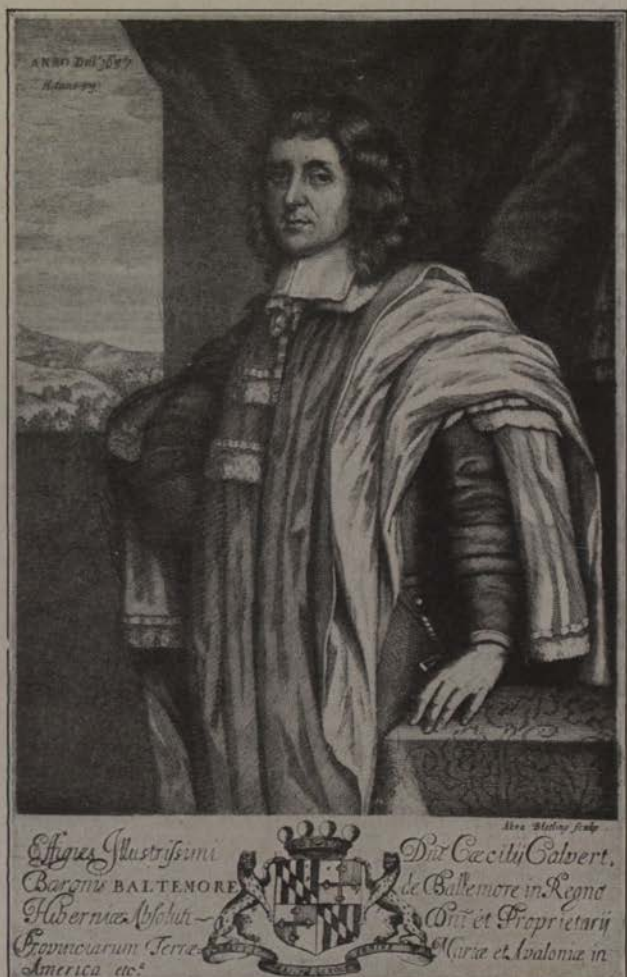
struggling settlements and burned them, scarcely ten years ago, carrying off cattle and settlers alike as his prize of private war, and meant to have no English for neighbors if they could find means to drive them off. Calvert had stayed his year out at "Avalon" only because his ships were as heavily armed and better handled. The bleak land with "a sad fare of winter" upon it, which let no blade of herbage appear in the earth, nor any fish even in the sea, for close upon eight months together, seemed hardly worth fighting for.

He turned his thoughts southward, therefore, and in 1629,—the very year Parliaments ceased to sit and the Massachusetts people got their charter,—asked King Charles to grant them lands on either side the great Bay of Chesapeake, close by Virginia: from the Potomac northward and eastward, across the Bay, to the fortieth degree of north latitude and the river and bay of Delaware. All this was land granted long ago to the Virginia Company; but the Virginia Company was dead; the King had resumed his sovereign rights with the withdrawal of its charter,—cared very little whether he twice granted the same thing or not,—and was Calvert's friend, as his father had been before him. The Virginian colonists were hot against the grant, and many influential persons in England, who seemed to hope still to see the old Virginia Company revived, protested to the Privy Council against it. But though they held the matter off for a year and a half, until Calvert was dead, they did not prevent it. The charter was issued in 1632, and Cecilius Calvert, the second Lord Baltimore, carried out his father's plans in his father's spirit.

It had been evident from the first that George Calvert

had meant his colony to be, among other things, a place of refuge, freedom, and safety for men of his own faith. There had long been stories afloat in London how he had carried Romish priests with him to Newfoundland, and had celebrated mass there every Sunday. He had named his colony there Avalon because it was at Glastonbury, which men had once called Avalon, in old Somersetshire, that the Church of Rome had first set up her altars in Britain. The colonists whom Cecilius Calvert sent out to Maryland late in the autumn of 1633 were by no means all Romanists, but probably quite half of them were; and Jesuit priests, who had covertly come aboard after the ships left the Thames, went with them to act as their spiritual leaders and preceptors in the New World. Protestants and Catholics, however, consorted very comfortably together on the voyage and after the landing. It was no part of Lord Baltimore's purpose to be a proselytizer and make converts of all whom he sent out, and he was too cool and prudent a man to wish to set up a colony to which none but Roman Catholics should be admitted. He knew very well how all England would soon be talking and protesting about such a colony as that, should he attempt it. He meant only to make a place so free that Roman Catholics might use full liberty of worship there no less than Protestants, for he knew that there was as yet no such place in America.

His colonists reached their new home in March, 1634, and chose for their place of settlement a high bluff which rose upon the eastern bank of a little stream which emptied itself into the great Potomac but a little way from the Bay. The mighty Potomac, flowing silent between its wide banks there in the lonely wilderness,



THE SECOND LORD BALTIMORE

made a deep impression on them. "The Thames, compared with it," they said, "can scarcely be considered a rivulet. It is not rendered impure by marshes, but on each bank of solid earth rise beautiful groves

of trees, not choked up with an undergrowth of brambles and bushes, but as if laid out by the hand, in a manner so open that you might easily drive a four-horse chariot in the midst of the trees." It was this broad and stately stream which was to be their boundary line, separating them from Virginia. Lord Baltimore called his province Maryland, in honor of the queen, and the first settlement there on the bluff they called St. Mary's, in honor of the Virgin.

It was a very bitter thing to the Virginians that they should be obliged thus to give up all the fair region of the upper Bay to these new-comers, whom they disliked equally as intruders and as papists; and feeling ran so high among them against Lord Baltimore's people that they deemed it an intolerable sort of treason for any man to speak so much as a kind word concerning them. They knew that they might themselves once have had all the Bay for the taking, and now the King had granted it away forever. They had, indeed, established a trading outpost on Kent's Island, which lay within reach of the spreading stream of the great Susquehanna, the noble river which brought its waters to the Bay all the long way which lay between Virginia and the forest haunts of the mighty Iroquois at the north,—the forests whence the rich furs came which all the continent coveted. Mr. Clayborne, who was of the governor's council, had interested himself to make commerce there with the natives; and Mr. Clayborne, with his good estates and high credit in Virginia, his influential commercial connections in London, his indomitable will and strong relish for action, was an ill man to oust. He insisted not only upon his own rights of property in the island, which no man of Lord

Baltimore's interest would have denied or interfered with, but also upon Virginia's jurisdiction over it. There could be no questioning the fact, nevertheless, that the island lay within the King's new grant; and though Mr. Clayborne begged aid of the Privy Council at home, and even put arms into the hands of his servants to keep his own by force, it was of no avail. The King's grant made Lord Baltimore master, and Mr. Clayborne had to stomach as best he could the unpalatable necessity of submitting.

Maryland's settlers had come to stay, and yearly spread and multiplied; and the Virginians in due time let their anger cool. Singular good fortune and provident good management made them secure from the first against any starving time such as there had been at Jamestown, or any bitter struggle to live and make a beginning. They had found an Indian village at St. Mary's where they landed, long established and set in the midst of open fields cultivated and ready for the plough. The Indians whose home the place had been freely sold them both its wigwams and its fallow clearings, for a few hatchets and hoes and a little cloth. Before the white men came they had resolved to quit the region, to be rid of fear of the Susquehannocks, the terrible Iroquois neighbors whose inroads made peace impossible. Here were cornfields ready for the planting, therefore, and the very first autumn of their stay in that wide wilderness the new colonists had grain enough to send a shipload to New England, to be exchanged for salt codfish. The Virginians, for all they hated them, did not refuse to sell them cattle and swine at a profit; and want was not an enemy they needed to reckon with.

Maryland turned out another Virginia in its ways

of life and government. In form, indeed, its government was very different. The King had no direct authority there. Lord Baltimore was made by his charter literally proprietor of the colony,—a sort of feudal prince, from whom, and not from the King, all titles and all authority were to be derived. He was empowered to confer rank even, and set up a kind of nobility, should he choose; and though his charter obliged him to submit such laws and regulations as he might think best to impose upon his province to the approval of the freemen of the colony, or their deputies, "called together for the framing of laws," that need have restrained him little more than the King was restrained by the Parliament at home. He could create "manors," also, with their separate courts, and proprietors as independent, almost, as the barons of old; and as the colony grew he did bestow here and there, upon a few of the richer men among his colonists, these greater gifts of privilege. The King had meant to reproduce in him the ancient powers of the stout churchmen who had kept the northern border against the Scot, and had had their separate sovereignty, as if of independent princes, for reward, making of their majestic cathedral on the high banks of Wear—

> "Half house of God,
> Half castle 'gainst the Scot."

He was to have, said his charter, "as ample rights, jurisdictions, privileges, prerogatives, royalties, liberties, immunities, and royal rights as any bishop of Durham within the bishopric or county palatine of Durham, within our kingdom of England."

But, notwithstanding his power was so great on paper,

he did not in fact use it to give the colony a character apart. Assemblies of the freemen met and made terms with the proprietor in Maryland as they had met and made terms with the company in Virginia. At first, while all the settlers were still within easy reach of St. Mary's, there were no elections. The freemen came themselves instead of choosing representatives. It was only by slow degrees that a system of elections was established. But in the end things were arranged there very much as they were arranged in Virginia, in matters of government no less than in matters of daily life. There were broad rivers in Maryland as in Virginia, and ships traded from wharf to wharf upon them as in the older colony. There were few villages and many spreading plantations. Virginians might have felt that there was practically little difference between their own colony and Lord Baltimore's, had they not seen Roman Catholics enjoy rights of worship there which were not granted them in Virginia. Virginians were expected to observe the ritual and order of the Church of England. Only in Maryland was there freedom in such matters, and the freedom there made Virginians feel, uneasily, that Maryland was in some unlawful way a Jesuit and papist refuge, which would bear jealous watching. The two colonies might speedily have forgot their differences but for that.

Authorities on the history of Maryland during the seventeenth century. The most trustworthy general authorities are John Leeds Bozman's *History of Maryland* (1632-1660); William Hand Browne's *Maryland: the History of a Palatinate*; John V. L. McMahon's *An Historical View of the Government of Maryland*; the first volume of J. A. Doyle's *English Colonies in America*; William T. Brantly's *English in Maryland, 1632-1691*, in the third volume of Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History of America*;

Edward D. Neill's *Terra Mariae ;* Bancroft and Hildreth's general histories; and the excellent monographs scattered here and there in the nineteen volumes of the *Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science.*

The more important *original sources* are to be found in the *Maryland Archives,* edited by W. Hand Browne; in the *Fund Publications* of the Maryland Historical Society ; in Bacon's *Laws of Maryland ;* in Peter Force's *Tracts and Other Papers relating to the Colonies in North America ;* in W. Hazard's *Historical Collections, Consisting of State Papers and Other Documents:* and in Stedman and Hutchinson's *Library of American Literature.*

V. The Expansion of New England

WHILE Maryland was being established, a county palatine, and Virginians accommodated their life and temper to the intrusion, affairs moved with strong tide in New England, and the whole face of the country was changed for the English, the Indians, and the Dutch alike. During the ten years 1630–1640, the first ten years after Mr. Winthrop's company came to Boston, a great and ever-increasing immigration poured steadily in at the Bay. These were the years during which there was no Parliament in England, the years during which the government at home seemed most intolerable, and the Puritan colonies in America most inviting, to all Englishmen who took their politics and their religion seriously. No fewer than twenty thousand people came within that single decade to seek homes in New England. In 1634 fourteen ships came in at the Bay with settlers in the single month of June, and the next summer eleven came in in a single day. In 1638 three thousand immigrants arrived within a space of three months. There could be no pause in events while such a tide was running.

Most of the new-comers found the Bay settlements altogether to their liking, and made their homes there very contentedly. They did not object to the strictness of the church government set up by the masterful rulers of the Massachusetts towns, for they were themselves

ARRIVAL OF WINTHROP'S COMPANY IN BOSTON HARBOR

Puritans almost to a man, and liked very well to see their own opinions made compulsory. It did not incommode them that the sterner ministers of the settlements made bold to imitate his Grace of Canterbury and silence those who differed with them. It was an age "when every sect demanded tolerance, yet none had the generosity to grant it," and it was very comfortable to dwell with your own sect.

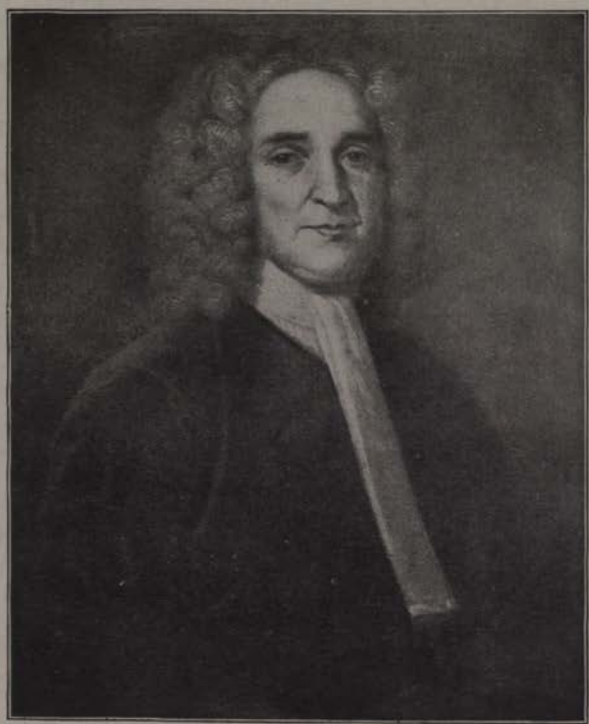
There was a great deal besides the church in New England,—a great deal to make the novel life in the wilderness stirring and interesting, and worth taking part in. The government, it was true, tried to regulate everything, just as the government at home did: made laws as to what wages should be paid to laborers, what prices should be charged by the merchants; prescribed what uses the farmer should make of his corn, how the fisheries should be conducted, and the fur trade with the Indians carried on. But it was not so easy to enforce such regulations as it was to make them. Fishermen fished in the open sea, upon a long coast, where there were few magistrates; fur traders carried on their barter with the Indians in the depths of the forest; merchants quietly took whatever purchasers were willing to pay; farmers used their land as they thought most profitable and advantageous; and the simple life of the colony was freer than life in England, after all.

There was not a little uneasiness and disquiet, nevertheless. These stirring, austere, uncompromising Puritans, who had crossed the sea to live in a wilderness rather than submit to Laud and the King, were not likely to be all of one mind, or always submissive to one another when they differed; and within less than five

years after Mr. Winthrop's first company had established themselves at the Bay signs of a partial breaking up began to appear. Each town was a sort of little commonwealth, and every town followed its minister, if he was of the mettle to lead. Some came from one quarter of the old land which had bred them all, some from another, some from quiet hamlets or rustic country-sides, some from busy towns; and each group, choosing its own place of neighborhood and settlement, kept its own flavor of local habit. And not the flavor of local habit only, but its own favorite views, also, it might be, upon questions of doctrine and polity, or its own strong preferences as to liberty of worship. Congregations had and kept their several characters; the politics of the growing commonwealth sprang out of their differences; and their ministers were their politicians. The Reverend Thomas Hooker, of Newtown, and the Reverend John Cotton, of Boston, were, in those first days, the most notable men among all the ministers of the colonies. Laud had picked both of them out as heretics specially to be feared and disciplined; they had been obliged to make their escape very secretly from England, and had been welcomed at the Bay with a special satisfaction and distinction of greeting upon their landing, in 1633. They were both scholars, and both orators whom it moved men to hear; but they were of opposite views and unlike tempers in dealing with affairs. It was observed after Mr. Hooker was settled at Newtown "that many of the freemen grew very jealous of their liberties." The men of Watertown, near by, ventured to protest very strongly against be-

ing taxed for a fort to be built at Newtown, notwithstanding it was meant to serve in case of need against a common enemy; and it was not doubted that Mr. Hooker's very liberal opinions in matters of government had spread to them, and inclined them thus to press their independence. He was very downright, very formidable in debate; Newtown was contesting with Boston the right to be considered the capital and centre of the Bay settlements; the freemen of the lesser towns looked to it for leadership, and found Mr. Hooker clear in counsel and fit to lead.

Mr. Cotton's views were much more to the liking of the magistrates. "Democracy," he said, "I do not conceive that God ever did ordain as a fit government either for church or commonwealth. If the people be governors, who shall be governed?" He had, moreover, "such an insinuating and melting way in his preaching that he would usually carry his very adversary captive,"—a man less rugged than Mr. Hooker, more fitted to charm, the mystical power of a poet and the winning force of an ardent evangelist set forth for all to see in his fine eyes, his ruddy countenance, his locks of chestnut brown, his carriage as of a man sure of his mission and of his mastery. The magistrates generally invited him to preach, accordingly, at every crisis in affairs, to the freemen or to the courts which were to decide what to do, and he had presently such an ascendency "that whatever he delivered in the pulpit was soon put into an order of court or set up as a practice in the church." The Newtown people, who deemed Mr. Hooker no less a master of wise speech and sound doctrine than Mr. Cotton, and Mr. Haynes, their chief citizen, as worthy to be governor as Mr. Winthrop



J Cotton

JOHN COTTON

himself, or Mr. Dudley, one or the other of whom the freemen seemed determined always to choose, grew jealous of a government which seemed to lie so entirely with Boston. They found the combined government of church and company itself a little burdensome. The water, too, at their wharves was too shallow, the soil on their fields too thin, and they were straitened for lack of meadow. Interest, pride, and opinion were very subtly compounded in their disquietude, and neither soft words nor harsh could rid them of it.

They were too loyal and too prudent to wish to disturb the peace and order of the colony by insisting too strenuously or too hastily upon having their own way; but they did not dissemble their discontent, and asked leave of the company's government to remove to another place of settlement. There was not a little alarm and opposition when it was learned that they wished actually to go outside the Massachusetts grant and establish themselves entirely apart on the distant Connecticut. But it became evident very soon that their spirits were too strongly bent upon their new purpose to be restored to ease or contentment where they were. Moreover, the same desire to get away began to show itself elsewhere,—in Watertown and Roxbury and Dorchester; and, with great bodies of new settlers constantly coming in, there seemed no conclusive reason why they should be held, unwilling, within the colony. Though the matter had to be fought through long debates and many delays, therefore, the magistrates at last felt themselves constrained to grant Newtown's petition; and the people of Watertown, Roxbury, and Dorchester chose to consider themselves included in the permission. The three years 1635–1637 saw a notable migration begin. By the spring of 1637 there were fully eight hundred settlers on the banks of the Connecticut and on the shores of the Sound below.

Dutch seamen had discovered the Connecticut so long ago as 1614, when the Virginia Company was still young, and the Massachusetts colony not yet thought of. They had explored also the shores of the Sound below, and both river and Sound had seen their trading boats pass often to and fro these many years. The Dutch had seen the English multiplying fast at

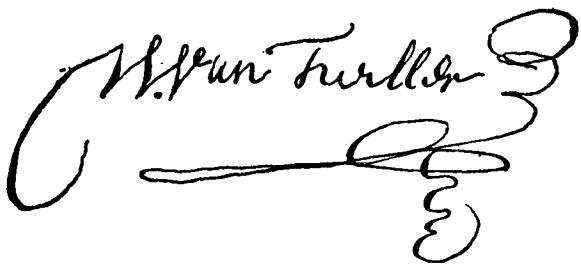
Plymouth and the Bay of Massachusetts; had realized that they must be quick to secure what they had discovered and meant to claim; had formally purchased a tract of land from the Indians at the mid-course of the Connecticut; and at last, just before the English came, had built a little fort there to mark their possession, placing it at the fine turn of the river to which, as it fell out, Mr. Hooker also and his congregation from

MINOT HOUSE, DORCHESTER

Newtown were presently to take a fancy. The Dutch agent in charge had hardly got further in his first work there than the throwing up of an earthen redoubt or two and the planting of a couple of small guns, and had but just named his post "Good Hope" (1633), when the English began to come. Men from Plymouth came first, to build a trading post, and then there followed these congregations from the Bay, as careless of the rights of the Plymouth men as of the rights of the Dutch.

When once their coming had begun they crowded in faster and faster, closer and closer, despite every protest. Not many years went by before they were ploughing the very piece of land upon which the little Dutch fort stood, saying that it was a shame to let good bottom soil lie idle.

Governor Winthrop had sent word to Van Twiller, the Dutch commander at Fort Amsterdam, that he must not build upon the Connecticut. It lay, he said, within the territories of the King of England. But Van Twiller had replied that he held the lands upon the



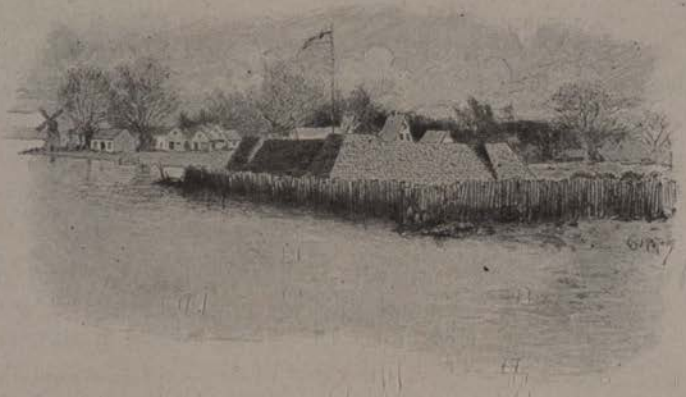
SIGNATURE OF WOUTER VAN TWILLER

river by as good a title, in the name of the States General of Holland and the authorized West India Company. "In this part of the world are divers heathen lands that are empty of inhabitants," he had pleaded, "so that of a little part or portion thereof there need not be any question." The tide of English immigrants swept in, nevertheless: a few from Plymouth, a great many from the Bay. The Dutch blustered and threatened and protested; but they did nothing more, and were soon outnumbered and surrounded. "These people give it out," reported a Dutch sea-captain returned from the river, "that they are Israelites, and that we at our colony are Egyptians." They called their own

countrymen in Virginia the same. It was their mission to set up Puritan commonwealths. Those who were not of their faith and order of living were but a better kind of heathen whom they hoped either to oust or to keep at a safe distance.

In 1635 settlers from Watertown began to build upon the river, six miles below the Dutch at Good Hope, at a place which they presently called Wethersfield. The same year Dorchester people came and sat themselves down beside the little group of protesting Plymouth men at Windsor. There were men in England as well as at the Bay who had cast their eyes upon the valley of the Connecticut as a place to be desired, and they also chose this time to make ready for planting a colony. Lord Say and Sele, Lord Brooke, and others, men of consequence, friends and correspondents of the gentlemen at the Bay, had obtained a grant of lands upon the lower Connecticut and upon the shores of the Sound, as far east as the river of the Narragansetts and as far west as they chose, so long ago as 1631, from the Earl of Warwick, President of the Council for New England; and chose this very time of the migration from the Bay to make their claim good. In 1635 they sent out John Winthrop the younger, the Bay governor's genial and capable son, as governor in their name "of the River Connecticut with the places adjoining," and close upon his heels sent Lieutenant Lion Gardiner, a stout soldier bred to war, like so many another, in the service of the Low Countries, to build fortifications which should make them sure of whatever Mr. Winthrop might occupy. Mr. Winthrop made no serious trouble for the new settlers already come from the Bay. The action of their lordships his employers was friendly, not hostile; his

own temper was easy and accommodating; Lieutenant Gardiner was detained at Boston a little while to assist with his expert advice at the construction of fortifications on Fort Hill, ere he went on to the Connecticut; and the fort which he built at the river's mouth when at last he went forward on his errand, though stout enough to guard the place against all comers, was used only to keep the Dutch off. That very year, 1636, Mr. Hooker came with a hundred settlers from Newtown and joined



DUTCH FORT—"GOOD HOPE"

some pioneers who had gone before him and planted themselves, as most unwelcome neighbors, close alongside the Dutch at Good Hope, calling their settlement Hartford.

It had been no easy matter to struggle through the dense tangle of the almost pathless forests all the long ninety miles which lay between these new regions and the Bay. There were household goods and stores to be carried; there were cattle to be fed and driven all the long way; there were women and children to be

thought of and spared; and those who made the hard journey spent weeks of weary travelling and lonely camping in those vast forests, which seemed to spread everywhere without border or any limit at all. Even boats could not be expected to make the journey round about by sea unless they chose their season; for when winter came the river was apt to be choked with ice. But these Puritans were not men to be daunted, as the Dutch found to their cost. The journey was made again and again and again, by party after party, as if there were no obstacles which even the women need dread.

Uneasy congregations were not the only people to quit the Bay in that day of eager movement, when men came by the thousands out of England; and the Connecticut was not the only goal of the new emigration. Many a man, many a family who found the rule of the Massachusetts magistrates over irksome, turned their eyes southward and went the shorter journey, of but a little more than forty miles, which carried them through Plymouth's grant of lands into the country of the Narragansetts beyond, where deep rivers and a spreading bay, dotted with inviting islands, made an open way to the sheltered seas of the great Sound below. These shores and islands soon became a place of refuge for all who were specially thrust out from the Bay settlements for errors of life or opinion, and for all who voluntarily quit the austere churches there in search of an absolute individual freedom, such as was not to be had even with Mr. Hooker on the Connecticut. Roger Williams had led the way thither in 1636, the year Mr. Hooker went to Hartford. Mr. Williams was a man whom his very enemies were constrained to love, when they had hearts under their jackets,—even while they

sincerely condemned his opinions. He had come to the Bay almost as soon as Mr. Winthrop himself, in February, 1631, in a ship which put in weather-beaten amidst a great drift of ice; and, though a mere youth, had given the magistrates trouble from the first. He was only the son of a merchant tailor of London; but nature had bestowed upon him gifts of mind and tongue which put him in a way to succeed as he pleased. He had become protégé and friend of the great Lord Coke, had got his training at Cambridge, and then had turned his back on all "gains and preferments in universities, city, country, and court," for the sake of absolute liberty of conscience and belief. He would no more accept what he did not believe at the Bay than in England. He upbraided the congregations there which had not openly separated from the Church of England; he denied the validity of the colony's charter, saying that the Indians alone, and not the King, owned and could grant the land; and he declared that magistrates had no rightful power except over a man's body and goods, and were wrong when they tried to command what men should believe and how they should worship.

The magistrates at the Bay could not permit such views as these to be preached and keep their authority. Mr. Williams had a most tender and outspoken conscience upon all things, and was often enough a mere "haberdasher of small questions," as Mr. Cotton said in tart jest; but he raised great questions, too, and his reasoning as often as not struck at the very foundations of the curious structure of government the Puritan magistrates had been at such pains to rear. They were in effect separatists, if you but looked at them from the other side of the water; and yet they did not suffer their

A PLATFORM OF CHURCH DISCIPLINE

GATHERED OUT OF THE WORD OF GOD: AND AGREED UPON BY THE ELDERS:
AND MESSENGERS OF THE CHURCHES
ASSEMBLED IN THE SYNOD AT CAMBRIDGE
IN NEW ENGLAND

To be presented to the Churches and Generall Court
for their consideration and acceptance,
in the Lord.

The Eight Moneth Anno 1649

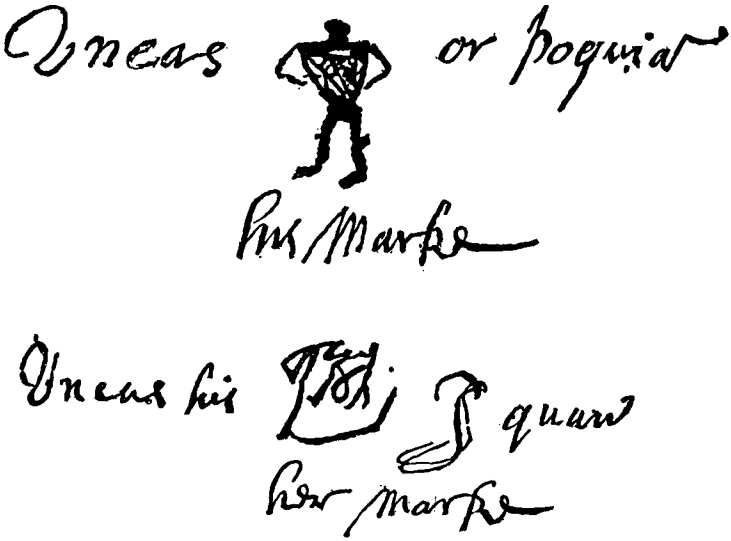
Psal: 84 1. *How amiable are thy Tabernacles O Lord of Hosts?*
Psal: 26 8. *Lord I have loved the habitation of thy house & the place where thine honour dwelleth.*
Psal: 27.4. *One thing have I desired of the Lord that will I seek after, that I may dwell in the house of the Lord all the dayes of my life to behold the beauty of the Lord & to inquire in his Temple.*

Printed by S G at *Cambridge* in *New England*
and are to be sold at *Cambridge* and *Boston*
Anno Dom: 1649.

TITLE-PAGE OF THE CAMBRIDGE PLATFORM

several churches and congregations to select or maintain what doctrines and practices they pleased. Synods ruled opinion, magistrates enforced their conclusions and their discipline, and Mr. Cotton, set high in the Boston pulpit where the chief men of the government were his disciples and parishioners, was a sort of bishop and primate of the churches. The masters of the Bay had no mind to let Mr. Williams speak or teach as he pleased. And yet it was five years before they made up their minds that he must be expelled from the colony. He was so gentle, so sweet-tempered, so ready to reason calmly with those who differed with him, so awkward to worst in an argument, so passionately loved by all his friends, so mildly hated by most of his foes, that they hesitated again and again what to do. It was unquestionable, nevertheless, that he kept the minds of the Salem people, to whom he preached, in something very like an attitude of rebellion towards the governing authorities of the colony; and at last he was driven out, obliged to fly secretly, even, lest they should seize and send him back to England. Undoubtedly he bred discord and contention wherever he went. He had lived for two years at Plymouth, to escape persecution at the Bay, before the final breach came; and even there, where they were inclined to be almost as liberal as he in matters of opinion, he had made trouble. "A man godly and zealous," the kindly Bradford had pronounced him, "having many precious gifts, but very unsettled in judgment." And so he became a fugitive, and went with four devoted companions, in the midst of bitter winter weather, deep into the icy forests to the southward, to find covert for a sensitive conscience beyond the grants of the crown.

And then, almost immediately, he was able to do the men who had banished him an inestimable service. That very summer (1637) war came,—war with the bold and dangerous Pequots, the Indian masters of the Con-



UNCAS AND HIS SQUAW. THEIR MARKS

necticut and the shores of the Sound; and nobody but Roger Williams could have held the Narragansett tribes off from joining them to destroy the settlements. A hostile union and concerted onset of all the tribes, effected then, as the Pequots plotted, might have meant annihilation. There were but five thousand Englishmen, even yet, scattered in the settlements, and such a rising put everything at stake. The Narragansetts occupied the lands which lay between Plymouth and the valley of the Connecticut. Mr. Williams had been much among them while he lived at Plymouth; had learned their language, and thoroughly won their liking.

Their keen and watchful eyes had seen how true and frank and steadfast he was, and how sincere a friend. They had given him lands very gladly when he came among them a fugitive; and now they hearkened to him rather than to the fierce Pequot chiefs, whom he faced at the risk of his life at their very council fires. The magistrates of the Bay had begged his interven-

MIANTONOMO. HIS MARK

tion, and he had undertaken it cheerfully. Such was the generous nature of the man.

The Pequots had grown very hot against the English crowding in. No Englishman's life was safe anywhere, upon the river or the Sound, because of them through the anxious winter of 1636–1637. Men at Lieutenant Gardiner's little fort at Saybrook hardly dared venture forth for fuel or forage. When summer came, therefore, the settlers set themselves ruthlessly to exterminate the tribe. A single bloody season of fire and the sword, and the work was done: the braves of the tribe were slain or driven forth in little despairing groups to the far Hudson in the west; the few women who survived were taken and made slaves of. The terrible business cleared all the river valley and all the nearer regions by the Sound, and English settlers began to pour in again with a new heart.

Massachusetts had lent her aid to the annihilation of the tribe, but the Connecticut towns had begun the

deadly work unaided. Until then Massachusetts had maintained a formal oversight, an unbroken assumption of authority among them; but now (1637), being clearly outside the Massachusetts grant, they took leave to hold a General Court of their own and assume independent powers. They had, indeed, no grant themselves, either of land or of authority, from the crown; but there were no King's officers there in the quiet wilderness, and they would not, for the present at any rate, be molested. For two years (1637–1639) they acted without even formal agreement among themselves regarding the method or organization of their government, choosing and obeying their magistrates, electing and holding their assemblies, according to their habit before they came. But in 1639 they adopted a formal constitution, which they called their "Fundamental Orders." Mr. Hooker's liberal temper showed itself very plainly in the principles by which they resolved to be governed. "The foundation of authority is laid in the free consent of the people," he had said, preaching to them from Deuteronomy, i. 13 ("Take you wise men, and understanding, and known among your tribes, and I will make them rulers over you"); and it is best that it should be so, for "by a free choice the hearts of the people will be more ready to yield" obedience. This was the principle of the Fundamental Orders. Their governor was always to be a member of some approved congregation; but any man might be a freeman and voter and fill any other magistracy whose town admitted him to be a resident, without test of doctrine or church membership; and the freemen were to elect the deputies by whom the laws of the colony were to be made in General Court.

The churches at the Bay had found very promptly that they could ill spare Mr. Hooker from their counsels. They had sent for him, indeed, at a very critical juncture

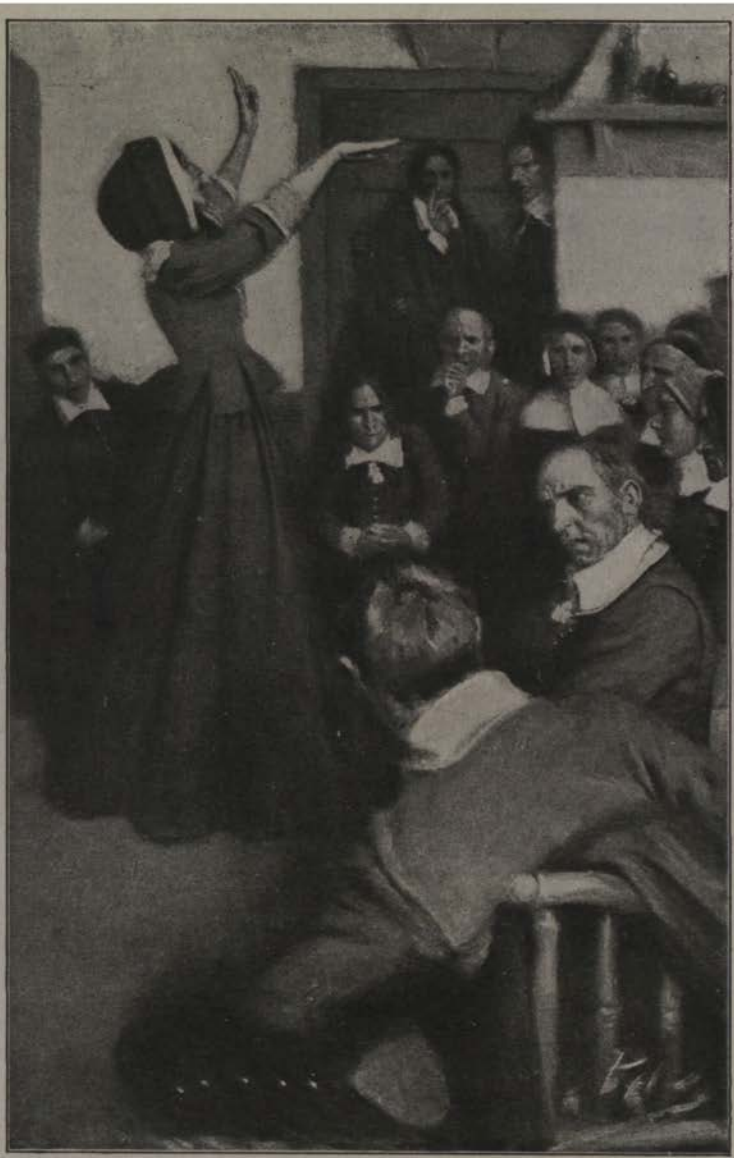
ST. BOTOLPH'S CHURCH, BOSTON, LINCOLNSHIRE, ENGLAND

in 1637: when the ministers needed all the support they could get against a single masterful woman in Boston. Mrs. Anne Hutchinson had come to the colony in 1634, to be near Mr. Cotton once more, whom she had been

used to hear and love in old Boston, in Lincolnshire, where, until Laud drove him from the kingdom, he had been minister of stately St. Botolph's. At first she had seemed only a very energetic and helpful woman,

SIR HENRY VANE

with an engaging earnestness and eloquence which gave her a noticeable pre-eminence among her sex in the little town; but before two years were out she had set the whole colony agog. She undertook to



ANNE HUTCHINSON PREACHING IN HER HOUSE IN BOSTON

preach in her own house, and before her day of exile came both men and women were crowding in to hear her. Great and small alike felt the woman's singular charm and power. The whole colony knew before long how many persons of parts and wit had become her partisans,—how many magistrates, gentlemen, scholars, soldiers. Even grave Mr. Winthrop, though he heartily disliked her doctrine, shielded her from criticism. Young Mr. Harry Vane, the most distinguished and engaging youth that had yet come to the colony, whom all had loved from the moment of his landing, and whom the freemen had chosen governor within six months of his coming, though he was but twenty-four, was openly of her party. But only Boston, after all, was within reach of her power. Elsewhere men knew only her opinions; and they were rank heresy. She taught mystical errors touching the Holy Ghost which no church of the colony could accept. She even claimed, it was said, direct revelation to herself. The council to which Mr. Hooker was summoned roundly condemned her opinions. It had hardly done so before it began to look as if the woman's partisans would bring not only ineradicable mischief into the churches, but also disorder and contempt of authority into civil affairs. Boston men who were of her party refused to enlist for the Pequot war. That year, accordingly (1637), saw very peremptory action taken. Mrs. Hutchinson was commanded to quit the colony by the next spring. She turned, in her exile, like other refugees for opinion's sake, to the Narragansett country, whither Roger Williams had shown the way.

And then, the Pequots being driven from the forests, and Massachusetts purged of Mrs. Hutchinson's heresies,

every one began to think again of the new settlements to the westward and southward, on the Connecticut and the Sound. The tide of immigrants from over sea was still pouring in at the Bay, with no show of slackening. More came in 1638 than ever before. Finding the lands by the Bay already full, hundreds pressed on to the farther shores below. Settlements were presently to be found scattered at intervals, long

OLD FORT AT SAYBROOK, 1639

and short, all the way from Saybrook at the mouth of the Connecticut to Greenwich, built within twenty miles of the Dutch at New Amsterdam: here a group of villages, there an isolated hamlet, set far apart. The Sound itself was crossed, and new settlements nestled here and there within the bays and harbors of the northern shore of Long Island. It was plain enough by what long and steady strides the English were approaching the gates of the Hudson. New Amsterdam grew and throve well enough in a slow way; but new colonists

did not come to the Dutch by families, shiploads, congregations, as they came to the Bay. The Dutch saw very clearly what they were to expect. They had already found the English of "so proud a nature that they thought everything belonged to them," and knew very well how aggressive they would be.

Most of the settlements near the river or the Sound, no matter how deeply buried in the forested wilderness,

HOOKER'S HOUSE AT HARTFORD

connected themselves with the free and simple government set up by Mr. Hooker's people at Hartford; but no community or government owned the region more than another, and some chose to keep an independent authority of their own. In June, 1637, a very notable company had arrived at the Bay under the leadership of the Reverend John Davenport,—people of substance, merchants for the more part, the chief men of a congregation Mr. Davenport had served in London. They

wished, above all things else, to keep together, make and maintain a separate church and parish for Mr. Davenport, and live their life in a place of settlement

John Davenport JOHN DAVENPORT

of their own. They found what they wanted (1638) within a safe and pleasing harbor on the Sound, which they presently called New Haven. Busy Captain de Vries, putting in at New Haven in June, 1639,[1] found "already three hundred houses and a handsome church" built there. They had been at the pains to erect "fair and stately houses, wherein they at first outdid the rest of the country"; and they soon found their town become a sort of capital for that part of the shore. Almost immediately other settlements sprang up close

[1] See page 333.

at hand,—Milford upon the one hand, Guilford on the other, and others still as the years went by. Deeming themselves a group apart, though in the midst of towns joined with the river settlements above them, these associated themselves with Mr. Davenport's people to form an independent government, upon another model. No one but a church member, admitted under

HOUSE AT GUILFORD, 1639

the strictest tests of belief, could among them, it was decreed, either vote or hold office. They tried, in their singular stiffness and candor of faith in an absolute and uncompromising Puritan order, for commonwealth no less than for church, to make the laws of the Old Testament the laws of their own political life and practice also, and steadfastly held themselves to the self-denying liberty they had left the Old World to find.

Settlements grew almost as numerously in the Nar-

ragansett country, though not in just the same way. By 1638[1] some fifty settlers had drawn about Mr. Williams at the place of refuge which he had reverently called "Providence"; and as the other shores of the Sound filled, Narragansett Bay was not overlooked. Colonists crossed the waters of the Bay from Providence, which lay at its head, to the fair island at its seaward end, which the Dutch had named Rhode (Red) Island, because when first they saw it its cliffs showed ruddy in the sun. There Pocasset and Newport were founded. But the settlers on those waters were not like settlers elsewhere. They were people of many creeds and beliefs,—Baptists, dissentient Puritans, partisans of Mrs. Hutchinson,—men and women whose views and practices were not tolerated elsewhere. They came hither, as Mr. Williams had come, to escape being governed at all in matters of opinion. Mr. Williams had spoken, in his catholic tolerance, of "the people of God wheresoever scattered about Babel's banks either in Rome or England." It looked for a little as if the shores of Narragansett were to be the banks of Babel. Men of all creeds made free to establish themselves upon them. They set up very simple forms of government, —for they generally agreed in wishing as little government of any kind as possible,—and yet, how slack soever the authority of rulers among them, they did not find it easy to live together. They were often turbulent; always disposed, upon a disagreement, to break away and live elsewhere in small, independent groups, rather than in strictly organized communities. Mrs. Hutchinson herself, who came to Pocasset when forced to leave the Bay in 1638, did not stay long. Her presence bred disquiet even there, and she soon removed again (1642)

[1] See page 335.

to a place on Long Island, within the territory of the Dutch, only twelve miles from New Amsterdam.

Many of the immigrants who crowded the ships that came yearly in at the Bay came expressly to be with old friends and comrades at Plymouth; and not a few others turned thither also when they had had time to make a choice. Until 1632, which was twelve years after its founding, the single village upon the hill at Plymouth had sufficed to hold all who came; but between 1632 and 1639 the colony was transformed by mere growth. Seven towns were after that to be counted within the Plymouth grant; the government of the colony had been readjusted, and a new code of laws drawn up. A new and more various life had come to the quiet bay. Captain Standish had been the first to set the example of expansion. In 1632 he had crossed the little harbor which lay before the town and had begun to build at Duxbury. Others followed his lead. Villages sprang up in quick succession, both on the shore to the northward facing the open sea, and on the shore to the southward which lay within the sheltering curve of the great arm of Cape Cod. Settlers turned inland also, and began to build at Taunton, full twenty miles and more away in the forest, upon one of the larger streams which ran southward into the bay of Narragansett.

The Dutch were not slow to see what they must do against the swarming of the English at their doors. The best and only chance for New Netherland, it was plain, lay in pushing her own enterprises very vigorously and multiplying her own population as fast as possible, and so growing too strong to be despised and encroached upon. The great grants of land and privilege offered

to patroons had attracted a few rich purchasers, but not many actual settlers. Not many could be found who wished to go to the New World to live under feudal lords more absolute than any in the Old. The company changed its policy, therefore. It offered patroons

MAP OF NEW AMSTERDAM AND VICINITY, 1666

less and actual farmers more. It arranged to let every settler have land "according to his condition and means," and to give him free passage to the colony; and it opened the trade of the colony to all upon equal terms. French Huguenots, as well as Dutch farmers, even

Englishmen from New England and Virginia, came to take advantage of the new terms of settlement. It was no small part of the attraction of the place for the English in New England that there was as complete liberty of conscience in New Netherland as at Providence with Mr. Williams or on Rhode Island. The colony grew steadily, therefore, and in a way to countenance very sanguine hopes.

But every prospect was marred by bad administration. The place was spoiled by a veritable pest of governors. The company sent out either mere clerks, or else men of questionable reputation and ruined fortunes, to take charge of its affairs. The weak and sluggish Van Twiller, who blustered and threatened but did not act when the English began to crowd in at the Connecticut, was succeeded in 1638 by the no less foolish Kieft,—a good enough agent for business to be done on a small scale and by rote, but incapable of understanding strong and efficient men or any large question of policy; and Kieft brought everything to the verge of utter ruin by his faithless and exasperating dealings with the Indians. He prompted attacks upon them for what they had not done; demanded tribute from friendly tribes who were the colony's best defence against those which were hostile; suffered them to be treacherously massacred when they fled to Fort Amsterdam for succor against the Iroquois; finally brought friend and foe alike to such a pitch of exasperation that they united for a war of extermination. Every outlying farm was rendered uninhabitable; scores of white men were put to death; the nearer English settlements suffered with the Dutch, and all the slow work of peaceful growth was undone. In that fearful year of plunder

and death (1643) Anne Hutchinson lost her life, her last refuge swept away with the rest.

In the South River the very friends of the Dutch played them false. Kieft did not scruple, in 1642, to drive away a body of English settlers there whom the New Haven people had sent down to take the trade of the region; but quite three years before that other rivals had fixed themselves on the western banks of the river of whom it was not so easy to get rid. In 1638 Samuel Blomaert, who had but a little while before taken out the rights of a patroon under the Dutch West India Company, and Peter Minuit, who had once been the

SIGNATURE OF SAMUEL BLOMAERT

company's governor at New Amsterdam, set up a colony at the South River under a charter from the King of Sweden,[1] Minuit himself leading the settlers thither, and bringing with him more Dutch than Swedes. And there the colony he established remained, safe at its "Fort Christina," because stronger than the Dutch at their lonely "Fort Nassau." The new-comers cheerfully lent a hand in driving the New Haven men out; but they kept their own foothold; multiplied faster than the men of New Netherland; grew steadily Swedish rather than Dutch in blood; and seemed likely, though neighborly enough for the present, to oust their lagging rivals in good season.

The principal *general authorities* on the history of New England during the seventeenth century are John Gorham Palfrey's *His-*

[1] See page 337.

tory of New England (1492–1774) and *Compendious History of New England* (1497–1765); the second and third volumes of J. A. Doyle's *English Colonies in America*; John Fiske's *Beginnings of New England*; Justin Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History of America*, volumes III. and V.; Bancroft and Hildreth's general histories of the country.

The development of the several colonies which were added to Massachusetts in the Puritan group, and some of the special phases of the growth of the little New England commonwealths, may be traced in detail in Benjamin Trumbull's *Complete History of Connecticut, from 1630 to 1764;* Samuel Greene Arnold's *History of Rhode Island;* George W. Greene's *Short History of Rhode Island;* Edward E. Atwater's *History of the Colony of New Haven to its Absorption into Connecticut;* Charles H. Levermore's *The Republic of New Haven* (one of the *Johns Hopkins Studies*); Hubbard's *History of Massachusetts* in the *Collections* of the Massachusetts Historical Society; Peter Oliver's *The Puritan Commonwealth: An Historical View of the Puritan Government in Massachusetts;* Charles Francis Adams's *Three Episodes of Massachusetts History;* various monographs in the *Johns Hopkins Studies in Historical and Political Science;* and W. B. Weeden's *Economic and Social History of New England.*

The chief *original sources* are to be found in the *Colonial Records* of Rhode Island, Connecticut, and New Haven; the *Provincial and Town Papers of New Hampshire;* the *Massachusetts Colony Records;* the *Collections* of the Historical Societies of Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Hampshire, and Maine; Farmer and Moore's *Historical Collections of New Hampshire;* the publications of the Gorges Society; the *Narragansett Club Publications;* Peter Force's *Tracts and Other Papers Relating to the Colonies in North America;* the *Publications* of the Prince Society; John Winthrop's *History of Massachusetts*, edited by J. Savage, and *The Life and Letters of John Winthrop*, edited by R. C. Winthrop; and Thomas Hutchinson's *History of Massachusetts.*

PART II

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

The Discovery of America by Christopher Columbus, 1492

Extract from the narrative of Ferdinand Columbus. Text from an English translation published in "Old South Leaflet," No. 29. (See page 2.)[1]

All the conditions which the admiral demanded being conceded by their Catholic majesties, he set out from Granada on the 21st May 1492, for Palos, where he was to fit out the ships for his intended expedition. That town was bound to serve the crown for three months with two caravels, which were ordered to be given to Columbus; and he fitted out these and a third vessel with all care and diligence. The ship in which he personally embarked was called the St. Mary; the second vessel named the Pinta, was commanded by Martin Alonzo Pinzon; and the third named the Nina, which had square sails, was under the command of Vincent Yanez Pinzon, the brother of Alonzo, both of whom were inhabitants of Palos. Being furnished with all necessaries, and having ninety men to navigate the three vessels, Columbus set sail from Palos on the 3rd of August 1492, shaping his course directly for the Canaries.

During this voyage, and indeed in all the *four* voyages which he made from Spain to the West Indies, the admiral was very careful to keep an exact journal of every occurrence which took place; always specifying what winds blew, how far he sailed with each particular

[1] The final page references in the introductions are to allusions in the History which are explained and illustrated in these documents.

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS

wind, what currents were found, and every thing that was seen by the way, whether birds, fishes, or any other thing. Although to note all these particulars with a minute relation of every thing that happened, shewing what impressions and effects answered to the course and aspect of the stars, and the differences between the seas which he sailed and those of our countries, might all be useful; yet as I conceive that the relation of these particulars might now be tiresome to the reader, I shall only give an account of what appears to me necessary and convenient to be known.

On Saturday the 4th of August, the next day after sailing from Palos, the rudder of the Pinta broke loose. The admiral strongly suspected that this was occasioned by the contrivance of the master on purpose to avoid proceeding on the voyage, which he had endeavoured to do before they left Spain, and he therefore ranged up along side of the disabled vessel to give every assistance in his power, but the wind blew so hard that he was unable to afford any aid. Pinzon, however, being an experienced seaman, soon made a temporary repair by means of ropes, and they proceeded on their voyage. But on the following Tuesday, the weather becoming rough and boisterous, the fastenings gave way, and the squadron was obliged to lay to for some time to renew the repairs. From this misfortune of twice breaking the rudder, a superstitious person might have foreboded the future disobedience of Pinzon to the admiral; as through his malice the Pinta twice separated from the squadron, as shall be afterwards related. Having applied the best remedy they could to the disabled state of the rudder, the squadron continued its voyage, and came in sight of the Canaries at day-break of Thursday the 9th of August; but owing to contrary winds, they were unable to come to anchor at Gran Canaria until the 12th. The admiral left Pinzon at Gran Canaria to endeavour to procure another vessel instead of that which was dis-

MAP OF THE NEW WORLD IN 1559

abled, and went himself with the Nina on the same errand to Gomera.

The admiral arrived at Gomera on Sunday the 12th of August, and sent a boat on shore to inquire if any vessel could be procured there for his purpose. The boat returned next morning, and brought intelligence that no vessel was then at that island, but that Doña Beatrix de Bobadilla, the propriatrix of the island, was then at Gran Canaria in a hired vessel of 40 tons belonging to one Gradeuna of Seville, which would probably suit his purpose and might perhaps be got. He therefore determined to await the arrival of that vessel at Gomera, believing that Pinzon might have secured a vessel for himself at Gran Canaria, if he had not been able to repair his own. After waiting two days, he dispatched one of his people in a bark which was bound from Gomera to Gran Canaria, to acquaint Pinzon where he lay, and to assist him in repairing and fixing the rudder. Having waited a considerable time for an answer to his letter, he sailed with the two vessels from Gomera on the 23d of August for Gran Canaria, and fell in with the bark on the following day, which had been detained all that time on its voyage by contrary winds. He now took his man from the bark, and sailing in the night past the island of Teneriffe, the people were much astonished at observing flames bursting out of the lofty mountain called El Pico, or the Peak of Teneriffe. On this occasion the admiral was at great pains to explain the nature of this phenomenon to the people, by instancing the example of Etna and several other known volcanoes.

Passing by Teneriffe, they arrived at Gran Canaria on Saturday the 25th August; and found that Pinzon had only got in there the day before. From him the admiral was informed that Doña Beatrix had sailed for Gomera on the 20th with the vessel which he was so anxious to obtain. His officers were much troubled at the disappointment; but he, who always endeavoured

TITLE-PAGE OF BARTHOLOMEI'S "POEMA EROICA," 1650

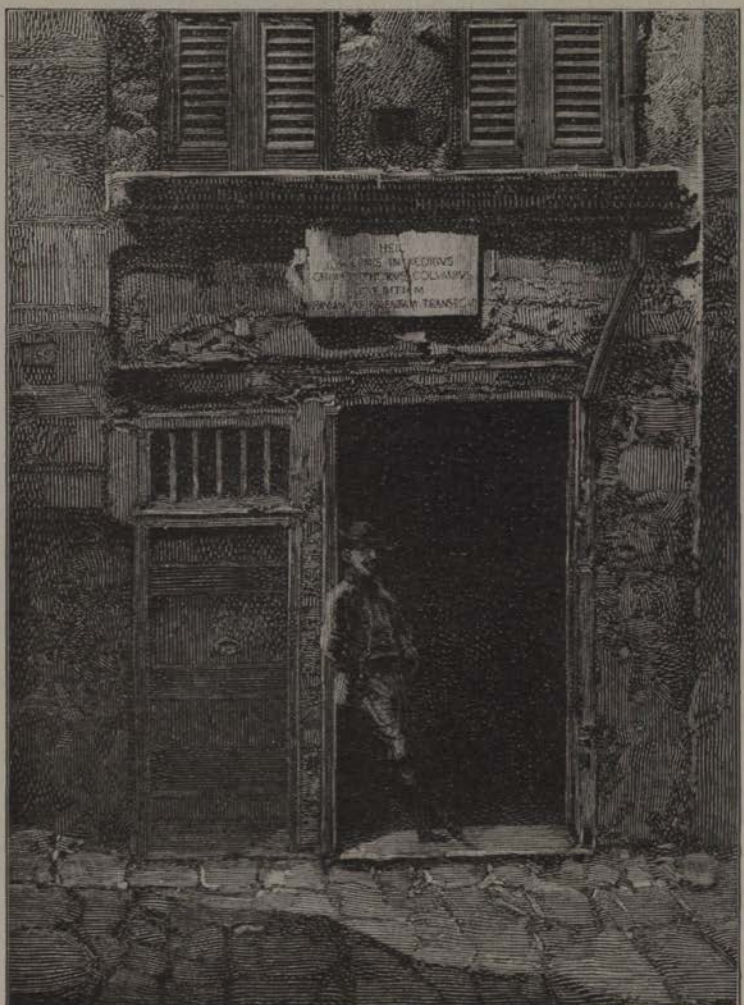
(Picturing an explorer landing in America)

to make the best of every occurrence, observed to them that since it had not pleased God that they should get this vessel it was perhaps better for them; as they might have encountered much opposition in pressing it into the service, and might have lost a great deal of time in shipping and unshipping the goods. Wherefore, lest he might again miss it if he returned to Gomera, he resolved to make a new rudder for the Pinta at Gran Canaria, and ordered the square sails of the Nina to be changed to *round* ones, like those of the other two vessels, that she might be able to accompany them with less danger and agitation.

The vessels being all refitted, the admiral weighed anchor from Gran Canaria on Saturday the first of September, and arrived next day at Gomera, where four days were employed in completing their stores of provisions and of wood and water. On the morning of Thursday the sixth of September, 1492, the admiral took his departure from Gomera, and commenced his great undertaking by standing directly westwards, but made very slow progress at first on account of calms. On Sunday the ninth of September, about day-break, they were nine leagues west of the island of Ferro. Now losing sight of land and stretching out into utterly unknown seas, many of the people expressed their anxiety and fear that it might be long before they should see land again; but the admiral used every endeavour to comfort them with the assurance of soon finding the land he was in search of, and raised their hopes of acquiring wealth and honour by the discovery. To lessen the fear which they entertained of the length of way they had to sail, he gave out that they had only proceeded fifteen leagues that day, when the actual distance sailed was eighteen; and to induce the people to believe that they were not so far from Spain as they really were, he resolved to keep considerably short in his reckoning during the whole voyage, though he

carefully recorded the true reckoning every day in private.

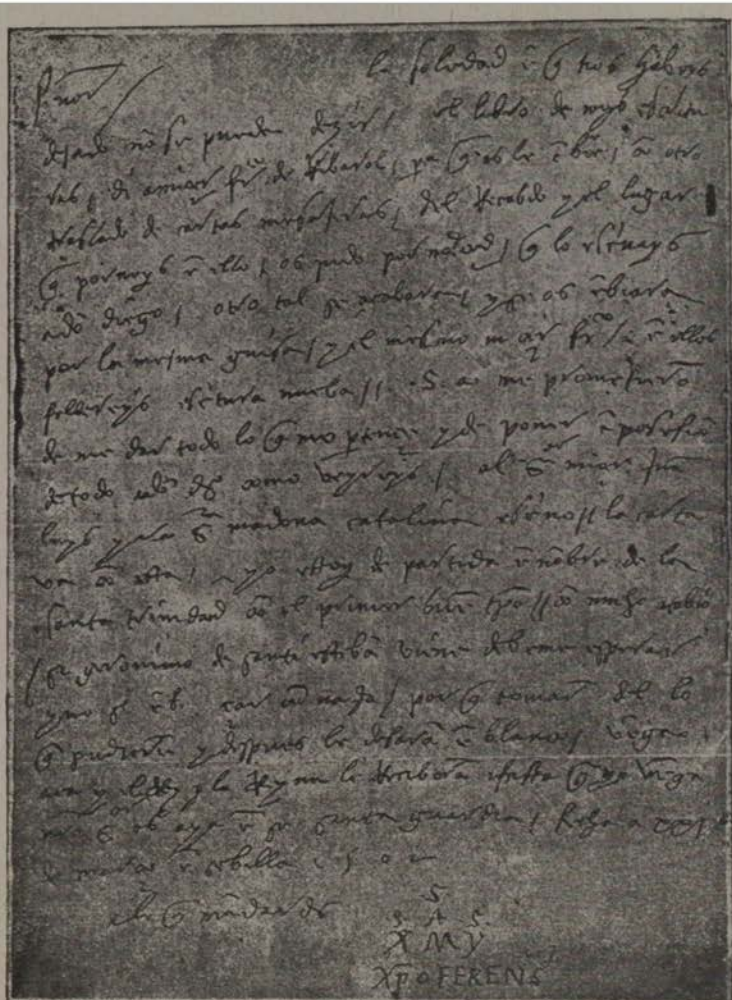
On Wednesday the twelfth September, having got to about 150 leagues west of Ferro, they discovered a large trunk of a tree, sufficient to have been the mast of a vessel of 120 tons, and which seemed to have been a long time in the water. At this distance from Ferro, and for somewhat farther on, the current was found to set strongly to the north-east. Next day, when they had run fifty leagues farther westwards, the needle was observed to vary half a point to the eastward of north, and next morning the variation was a whole point east. This variation of the compass had never been before observed, and therefore the admiral was much surprised at the phenomenon, and concluded that the needle did not actually point towards the polar star, but to some other fixed point. Three days afterwards, when almost 100 leagues farther west, he was still more astonished at the irregularity of the variation; for having observed the needle to vary a whole point to the eastwards at night, it pointed directly northwards in the morning. On the night of Saturday the fifteenth of September, being then almost 300 leagues west of Ferro, they saw a prodigious flash of light, or fire ball, drop from the sky into the sea, at four or five leagues distance from the ships towards the south-west. The weather was then quite fair and serene like April, the sea perfectly calm, the wind favourable from the north-east, and the current setting to the north-east. The people in the Nina told the admiral that they had seen the day before a heron, and another bird which they called *Rabo-de-junco*. These were the first birds which had been seen during the voyage, and were considered as indications of approaching land. But they were more agreeably surprised next day, Sunday sixteenth September, by seeing great abundance of yellowish green sea weeds, which appeared as if newly washed away from some rock or



BIRTHPLACE OF COLUMBUS, GENOA

island. Next day the sea weed was seen in much greater quantity, and a small live lobster was observed among the weeds; from this circumstance many affirmed that they were certainly near the land. The sea water was afterwards noticed to be only half so salt as before; and great numbers of tunny fish were seen swimming about, some of which came so near the vessel, that one was killed by a bearded iron. Being now 360 leagues west from Ferro, another of the birds called rabo-de-junco was seen. On Tuesday the eighteenth September, Martin Alonzo Pinzon, who had gone a-head of the admiral in the Pinta, which was an excellent sailer, lay to for the admiral to come up, and told him that he had seen a great number of birds fly away westwards, for which reason he was in great hopes to see land that night; Pinzon even thought that he saw land that night about fifteen leagues distant to the northwards, which appeared very black and covered with clouds. All the people would have persuaded the admiral to try for land in that direction; but, being certainly assured that it was not land, and having not yet reached the distance at which he expected to find the land, he would not consent to lose time in altering his course in that direction. But as the wind now freshened, he gave orders to take in the top-sails at night, having now sailed eleven days before the wind due westwards with all their sails up.

All the people in the squadron being utterly unacquainted, fearful of their danger at such unusual distance from any relief, and seeing nothing around but sky and water, began to mutter among themselves, and anxiously observed every appearance. On the nineteenth September, a kind of sea-gull called *Alcatraz* flew over the admiral's ship, and several others were seen in the afternoon of that day, and as the admiral conceived that these birds would not fly far from land, he entertained hopes of soon seeing what he was in quest of. He therefore ordered a line of 200 fathoms



FACSIMILE LETTER FROM COLUMBUS TO HIS SON

to be tried, but without finding any bottom. The current was now found to set to the south-west.

On Thursday the twentieth of September, two alcatrazes came near the ship about two hours before noon, and soon afterwards a third. On this day likewise they took a bird resembling a heron, of a black colour with a white tuft on its head, and having webbed feet like a duck. Abundance of weeds were seen floating in the sea, and one small fish was taken. About evening three land birds settled on the rigging of the ship and began to sing. These flew away at day-break, which was considered a strong indication of approaching the land, as these little birds could not have come from any far distant country; whereas the other large fowls, being used to water, might much better go far from land. The same day an alcatraz was seen.

Friday the twenty-first another alcatraz and a rabo-de-junco were seen, and vast quantities of weeds as far as the eye could carry towards the north. These appearances were sometimes a comfort to the people, giving them hopes of nearing the wished-for land; while at other times the weeds were so thick as in some measure to impede the progress of the vessels, and to occasion terror lest what is fabulously reported of St. Amaro in the frozen sea, might happen to them, that they might be so enveloped in the weeds as to be unable to move backwards or forwards; wherefore they steered away from those shoals of weeds as much as they could.

Next day, being Saturday the twenty-second September, they saw a whale and several small birds. The wind now veered to the south-west, sometimes more and sometimes less to the westwards; and though this was adverse to the direction of their proposed voyage, the admiral to comfort the people alleged that this was a favourable circumstance; because among other causes of fear, they had formerly said they should never have a wind to carry them back to Spain, as it had always

blown from the east ever since they left Ferro. They still continued, however, to murmur, alleging that this south-west wind was by no means a settled one, and as it never blew strong enough to swell the sea, it would not serve to carry them back again through so great an extent of sea as they had now passed over. In spite of every argument used by the admiral, assuring them that the alterations in the wind were occasioned by the vicinity of the land, by which likewise the waves were prevented from rising to any height, they were still dissatisfied and terrified.

On Sunday the twenty-third of September, a brisk gale sprung up W. N. W. with a rolling sea, such as the people had wished for. Three hours before noon a turtle-dove was observed to fly over the ship; towards evening an alcatraz, a river fowl, and several white birds were seen flying about, and some crabs were observed among the weeds. Next day another alcatraz was seen and several small birds which came from the west. Numbers of small fishes were seen swimming about, some of which were struck with harpoons, as they would not bite at the hook.

The more that the tokens mentioned above were observed, and found not to be followed by the so anxiously looked-for land, the more the people became fearful of the event, and entered into cabals against the admiral, who they said was desirous to make himself a great lord at the expense of their danger. They represented that they had already sufficiently performed their duty in adventuring farther from land and all possibility of succour than had ever been done before, and that they ought not to proceed on the voyage to their manifest destruction. If they did they would soon have reason to repent their temerity, as provisions would soon fall short, the ships were already faulty and would soon fail, and it would be extremely difficult to get back so far as they had already gone. None could condemn them

in their own opinion for now turning back, but all must consider them as brave men for having gone upon such an enterprize and venturing so far, That the admiral was a foreigner who had no favour at court; and as so

THE ARMOR OF COLUMBUS, IN THE ROYAL ARMORY, MADRID

many wise and learned men had already condemned his opinions and enterprize as visionary and impossible, there would be none to favour or defend him, and they were sure to find more credit if they accused him of ignorance and mismanagement than he would do, what-

soever he might now say for himself against them. Some even proceeded so far as to propose, in case the admiral should refuse to acquiesce in their proposals, that they might make a short end of all disputes by throwing him overboard; after which they could give out that he had fallen over while making his observations, and no one would ever think of inquiring into the truth. They thus went on day after day, muttering, complaining, and consulting together; and though the admiral was not fully aware of the extent of their cabals, he was not entirely without apprehensions of their inconstancy in the present trying situation, and of their evil intentions towards him. He therefore exerted himself to the utmost to quiet their apprehensions and to suppress their evil design, sometimes using fair words, and at other times fully resolved to expose his life rather than abandon the enterprize; he put them in mind of the due punishment they would subject themselves to if they obstructed the voyage. To confirm their hopes, he recapitulated all the favourable signs and indications which had been lately observed, assuring them that they might soon expect to see the land. But they, who were ever attentive to these tokens, thought every hour a year in their anxiety to see the wished-for land.

On Tuesday the twenty-fifth of September near sunset, as the admiral was discoursing with Pinzon, whose ship was then very near, Pinzon suddenly called out, "Land! land, Sir! let not my good news miscarry;" and pointed out a large mass in the S. W. about twenty-five leagues distant, which seemed very like an island. This was so pleasing to the people, that they returned thanks to God for the pleasing discovery; and, although the admiral was by no means satisfied of the truth of Pinzon's observation, yet to please the men, and that they might not obstruct the voyage, he altered his course and stood in that direction a great part of the night. Next morning, the twenty-sixth, they had

the mortification to find the supposed land was only composed of clouds, which often put on the appearance of distant land; and, to their great dissatisfaction, the stems of the ships were again turned directly westwards, as they always were unless when hindered by the wind. Continuing their course, and still attentively watching for signs of land, they saw this day an alcatraz, a rabo-de-junco, and other birds as formerly mentioned.

THE OLD CHURCH AT PALOS IN WHICH WAS READ THE PROCLAMATION COMMANDING THE CITIZENS TO FURNISH MONEY FOR COLUMBUS

On Thursday the twenty-seventh of September, they saw another alcatraz coming from the westwards and flying towards the east, and great numbers of fish were seen with gilt backs, one of which they struck with a harpoon. A rabo-de-junco likewise flew past; the currents for some of the last days were not so regular as before, but changed with the tide, and the weeds were not nearly so abundant.

On Friday the twenty-eighth all the vessels took some of the fishes with gilt backs; and on Saturday the twenty-

ninth they saw a rabo-de-junco, which, although a sea-fowl, never rests on the waves, but always flies in the air, pursuing the alcatrazes. Many of these birds are said to frequent the Cape de Verd islands. They soon afterwards saw two other alcatrazes, and great numbers of flying-fishes. These last are about a span long, and have two little membranous wings like those of a bat, by means of which they fly about a pike-length high from the water and a musket-shot in length, and sometimes drop upon the ships. In the afternoon of this day they saw abundance of weeds lying in length north and south, and three alcatrazes pursued by a rabo-de-junco.

On the morning of Sunday the thirtieth of September four rabo-de-juncos came to the ship; and from so many of them coming together it was thought the land could not be far distant, especially as four alcatrazes followed soon afterwards. Great quantities of weeds were seen in a line stretching from W. N. W. to E. N. E. and a great number of the fishes which are called Emperadores, which have a very hard skin and are not fit to eat. Though the admiral paid every attention to these indications, he never neglected those in the heavens, and carefully observed the course of the stars. He was now greatly surprised to notice at this time that the *Charles wain* or Ursa Major constellation appeared at night in the west, and was N. E. in the morning: He thence concluded that their whole night's course was only nine hours, or so many parts in twenty-four of a great circle; and this he observed to be the case regularly every night. It was likewise noticed that the compass varied a whole point to the N. W. at nightfall, and came due north every morning at day-break. As this unheard-of circumstance confounded and perplexed the pilots, who apprehended danger in these strange regions and at such an unusual distance from home, the admiral endeavoured to calm their fears by assigning a cause for this wonderful phenomenon: He alleged that it was

occasioned by the polar star making a circuit round the pole, by which they were not a little satisfied.

Soon after sunrise on Monday the first of October, an alcatraz came to the ship, and two more about ten in the morning, and long streams of weeds floated from east to west. That morning the pilot of the admiral's ship said that they were now 578 leagues west from the island of Ferro. In his public account the admiral said they were 584 leagues to the west; but in his private

COLUMBUS AND VESPUCCI
(From a Painting by Guilio Romano, in the City Hall, Genoa)

journal he made the real distance 707 leagues, or 129 more than was reckoned by the pilot. The other two ships differed much in their computation from each other and from the admiral's pilot. The pilot of the Nina in the afternoon of the Wednesday following said they had only sailed 540 leagues, and the pilot of the Pinta reckoned 634. Thus they were all much short of the truth; but the admiral winked at the gross mistake, that the men, not thinking themselves so far from home, might be the less dejected.

The next day, being Tuesday the second of October, they saw abundance of fish, caught one small tunny, and saw a white bird with many other small birds, and the weeds appeared much withered and almost fallen to powder. Next day, seeing no birds, they suspected

that they had passed between some islands on both hands, and had slipped through without seeing them, as they guessed that the many birds which they had seen might have been passing from one island to another. On this account they were very earnest to have the course altered one way or the other, in quest of these imaginary lands. But the admiral, unwilling to lose the advantage of the fair wind which carried him due west, which he accounted his surest course, and afraid to lessen his reputation by deviating from course to course in search of land, which he always affirmed that he well knew where to find, refused his consent to any change. On this the people were again ready to mutiny, and resumed their murmurs and cabals against him. But it pleased God to aid his authority by fresh indications of land.

On Thursday the fourth of October, in the afternoon, above forty sparrows together and two alcatrazes flew so near the ship that a seaman killed one of them with a stone. Several other birds were seen at this time, and many flying-fish fell into the ships. Next day there came a rabo-de-junco and an alcatraz from the westwards, and many sparrows were seen. About sunrise on Sunday the seventh of October, some signs of land appeared to the westwards, but being imperfect no person would mention the circumstance. This was owing to fear of losing the reward of thirty crowns yearly for life which had been promised by their Catholic majesties to whoever should first discover land; and to prevent them from calling out land, land, at every turn without just cause, it was made a condition that whoever said he saw land should lose the reward if it were not made out in three days, even if he should afterwards actually prove the first discoverer. All on board the admiral's ship being thus forewarned, were exceedingly careful not to cry out land upon uncertain tokens; but those in the Nina, which sailed better and always kept ahead,

believing that they certainly saw land, fired a gun and hung out their colours in token of the discovery; but the farther they sailed the more the joyful appearance lessened, till at last it vanished away. But they soon afterwards derived much comfort by observing great flights of large fowl and others of small birds going from the west towards the south-west.

Being now at a vast distance from Spain, and well assured that such small birds would not go far from land, the admiral now altered his course from due west which had been hitherto, and steered to the south-west. He assigned as a reason for now changing his course, although deviating little from his original design, that he followed the example of the Portuguese, who had discovered most of their islands by attending to the flight of birds, and because these they now saw flew almost uniformly in one direction. He said likewise that he

THE CONVENT OF LA RABIDA, SPAIN

had always expected to discover land about the situation in which they now were, having often told them that he must not look to find land until they should get 750 leagues to the westwards of the Canaries; about which distance he expected to fall in with Hispaniola which he then called Cipango; and there is no doubt that he would have found this island by his direct course, if it had not been that it was reported to extend from north to south. Owing therefore to his not having

inclined more to the south he had missed that and others of the Caribbee islands whither these birds were now bending their flight, and which had been for some time upon his larboard hand. It was from being so near the land that they continually saw such great numbers of birds; and on Monday the eighth of October twelve singing birds of various colours came to the ship, and after flying round it for a short time held on their way. Many other birds were seen from the ship flying towards the south-west, and that same night great numbers of large fowl were seen, and flocks of small birds proceeding from the northwards, and all going to the south-west. In the morning a jay was seen, with an alcatraz, several ducks, and many small birds, all flying the same way with the others, and the air was perceived to be fresh and odoriferous as it is at Seville in the month of April. But the people were now so eager to see land and had been so often disappointed, that they ceased to give faith to these continual indications; insomuch that on Wednesday the tenth, although abundance of birds were continually passing both by day and night, they never ceased to complain. The admiral upbraided their want of resolution, and declared that they must perish in their endeavours to discover the Indies, for which he and they had been sent out by their Catholic majesties.

It would have been impossible for the admiral to have much longer withstood the numbers which now opposed him; but it pleased God that, in the afternoon of Thursday the eleventh of October, such manifest tokens of being near the land appeared, that the men took courage and rejoiced at their good fortune as much as they had been before distressed. From the admiral's ships a green rush was seen to float past, and one of those green fish which never go far from the rocks. The people in the Pinta saw a cane and a staff in the water, and took up another staff very curiously carved, and a small board, and great plenty of weeds were seen which

seemed to have been recently torn from the rocks. Those of the Nina, besides similar signs of land, saw a branch of a thorn full of red berries, which seemed to have been newly torn from the tree. From all these indications the admiral was convinced that he now drew near to the land, and after the evening prayers he made a speech to the men, in which he reminded them of the mercy of God in having brought them so long a voyage with such favourable weather, and in comforting them with so many tokens of a successful issue to their enterprize, which were now every day becoming plainer and less equivocal. He besought them to be exceedingly watchful during the night, as they well knew that in the first article of the instructions which he had given to all the three ships before leaving the Canaries, they were enjoined, when they should have sailed 700 leagues west without discovering land, to lay to every night, from midnight till day-break. And, as he had very confident hopes of discovering land that night, he required every one to keep watch at their quarters; and, besides the gratuity of thirty crowns a-year for life, which had been graciously promised by their sovereigns to him that first saw the land, he engaged to give the fortunate discoverer a velvet doublet from himself.

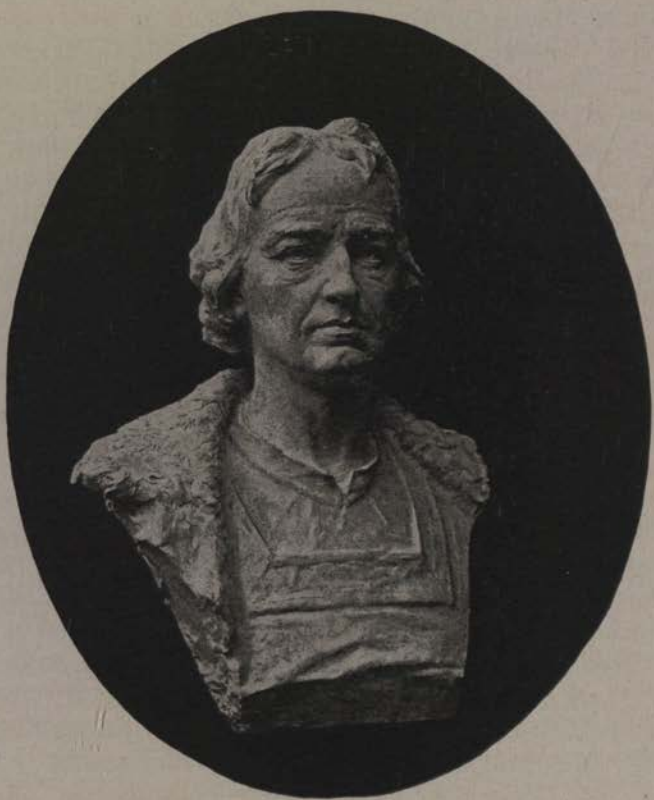
After this, as the admiral was in the cabin about ten o'clock at night, he saw a light on the shore; but it was so unsteady that he could not certainly affirm that it came from land. He called to one Peter Gutierres and desired him to try if he could perceive the same light, who said he did; but one Roderick Sanchez of Segovia, on being desired to look the same way could not see it, because he was not up time enough, as neither the admiral nor Gutierres could see it again above once or twice for a short space, which made them judge it to proceed from a candle or torch belonging to some fisherman or traveller, who lifted it up occasionally and lowered it again, or perhaps from people going from one

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS, FROM THE VENETIAN MOSAIC IN THE CITY HALL, GENOA

house to another, because it appeared and vanished again so suddenly. Being now very much on their guard, they still held on their course until about two in the morning of Friday the twelfth of October, when the Pinta which was always far ahead, owing to her superior sailing, made the signal of seeing land, which was first discovered by Roderick de Triana at about two leagues from the ship. But the thirty crowns a-year were afterwards granted to the admiral, who had seen the light in the midst of darkness, a type of the spiritual light which he was the happy means of spreading in these dark regions of error. Being now so near land, all the ships lay to; every one thinking it long till daylight, that they might enjoy the sight they had so long and anxiously desired.

When daylight appeared, the newly discovered land was perceived to consist of a flat island fifteen leagues in length, without any hills, all covered with trees, and having a great lake in the middle. The island was inhabited by great abundance of people, who ran down to the shore filled with wonder and admiration at the sight of the ships, which they conceived to be some unknown animals. The Christians were not less curious to know what kind of people they had fallen in with, and the curiosity on both sides was soon satisfied, as the ships soon came to anchor. The admiral went on shore with his boat well armed, and having the royal standard of Castile and Leon displayed, accompanied by the commanders of the other two vessels, each in his own boat, carrying the particular colours which had been allotted for the enterprize, which were white with a green cross and the letter F. on one side and on the other the names of Ferdinand and Isabella crowned.

The whole company kneeled on the shore and kissed the ground for joy, returning God thanks for the great mercy they had experienced during their long voyage through seas hitherto unpassed, and their now happy



NEW BUST OF COLUMBUS BY BOZZANO

discovery of an unknown land. The admiral then stood up, and took formal possession in the usual words for their Catholic majesties of this island, to which he gave the name of St. Salvador. All the Christians present admitted Columbus to the authority and dignity of admiral and viceroy, pursuant to the commission which he had received to that effect, and all made oath to obey him as the legitimate representative of their Catholic majesties, with such expressions of joy and acknowledgement as became their mighty success; and they all implored his forgiveness of the many affronts he had received from them through their fears and want of confidence. Numbers of the Indians or natives of the island were present at these ceremonies; and perceiving them to be peaceable, quiet, and simple people, the admiral distributed several presents among them. To some he gave red caps, and to others strings of glass beads, which they hung about their necks, and various other things of small value, which they valued as if they had been jewels of high price.

After the ceremonies, the admiral went off in his boat, and the Indians followed him even to the ships, some by swimming and others in their canoes, carrying parrots, clews of spun cotton yarn, javelins, and other such trifling articles, to barter for glass beads, bells, and other things of small value. Like people in the original simplicity of nature, they were all naked, and even a woman who was among them was entirely destitute of clothing. Most of them were young, seemingly not above thirty years of age; of a good stature, with very thick black lank hair, mostly cut short above their ears, though some had it down to their shoulders, tied up with a string about their head like women's tresses. Their countenances were mild and agreeable and their features good; but their foreheads were too high, which gave them rather a wild appearance. They were of a complexion, like the inhabitants of the Canaries, or

middle stature, plump, and well shaped, but of an olive sunburnt peasants. Some were painted with black, others with white, and others again with red; in some the whole body was painted, in others only the face, and some only the nose and eyes. They had no weapons like those of Europe, neither had they any knowledge of such; for when our people shewed them a naked

THE DEATH OF COLUMBUS
(By Ortego, in the National Museum, Madrid)

sword, they ignorantly grasped it by the edge. Neither had they any knowledge of iron; as their javelins were merely constructed of wood, having their points hardened in the fire, and armed with a piece of fish-bone. Some of them had scars of wounds on different parts, and being asked by signs how these had been got, they answered by signs that people from other islands came to take them away, and that they had been wounded in their own defence. They seemed ingenious and of a voluble tongue; as they readily repeated such words as they once heard. There were no kind of

animals among them excepting parrots, which they carried to barter with the Christians among the articles already mentioned, and in this trade they continued on board the ships till night, when they all returned to the shore.

In the morning of the next day, being the 13th of October, many of the natives returned on board the ships in their boats or canoes, which were all of one piece hollowed like a tray from the trunk of a tree; some of these were so large as to contain forty or forty-five men, while others were so small as only to hold one person, with many intermediate sizes between these extremes. These they worked along with paddles formed like a baker's peel or the implement which is used in dressing hemp. These oars or paddles were not fixed by pins to the sides of the canoes like ours; but were dipped into the water and pulled backwards as if digging. Their canoes are so light and artfully constructed, that if overset they soon turn them right again by swimming; and they empty out the water by throwing them from side to side like a weaver's shuttle, and when half emptied they lade out the rest with dried calabashes cut in two, which they carry for that purpose.

This second day the natives, as said before, brought various articles to barter for such small things as they could procure in exchange. Jewels or metals of any kind were not seen among them, except some small plates of gold which hung from their nostrils; and on being questioned from whence they procured the gold, they answered by signs that they had it from the south, where there was a king who possessed abundance of pieces and vessels of gold; and they made our people to understand that there were many other islands and large countries to the south and south-west. They were very covetous to get possession of anything which belonged to the Christians, and being themselves very poor, with nothing of value to give in exchange, as soon

as they got on board, if they could lay hold of anything which struck their fancy, though it were only a piece of broken glazed earthen dish or porringer, they leaped with it into the sea and swam to shore with their prize. If they brought anything on board they would barter it for anything whatever belonging to our people, even for a piece of broken glass; insomuch that some gave sixteen large clews of well-spun cotton yarn, weighing twenty-five pounds, for three small pieces of Portuguese brass coin not worth a farthing. Their liberality in dealing did not proceed from their putting any great value on the things themselves which they received from our people in return, but because they valued them as belonging to the Christians, whom they believed certainly to have come down from Heaven, and they therefore earnestly desired to have something from them as a memorial. In this manner all this day was spent, and the islanders, as before, all went on shore at night.

First Description of the "Crookebacked Ox," Later Known as the American Buffalo and American Bison. 1541

The narrative of Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca, treasurer of the expedition of de Narvaez, was first published at Zamora, Spain, in 1542. The earliest English rendering is in "Purchas His Pilgrimes," London, 1613. A translation by Buckingham Smith was privately printed in Washington in 1851, and republished with additions in 1871 after Mr. Smith's death. An excellent translation by Mrs. A. F. Bandelier was published in 1905 (A. S. Barnes & Co.), and a revised version of Buckingham Smith's translation edited by F. W. Hodge is published in the volume on "Spanish Explorers" in the "Original Narratives of American History" (Scribner's). (See pages 13 and 14.)

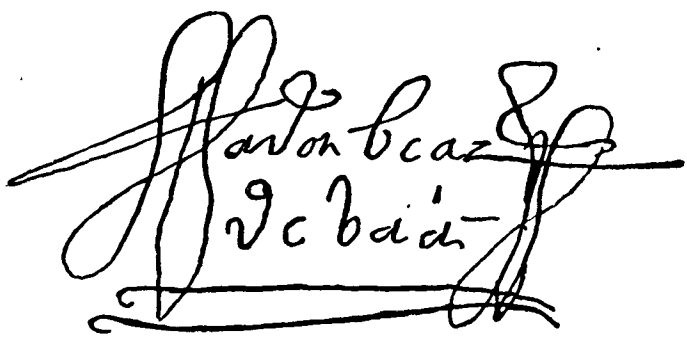
The following, which is from the translation by Buckingham Smith (Ed. 1851, pp. 64, 65), is the first reference to the buffalo. Cabeza de Vaca is speaking of the customs of the Indians, and says:

They are accustomed to kill deer also by surrounding them with fires. They take the pasturage from cattle by burning, that necessity may drive them to seek it in such places as it is wished they should go to. They encamp only where there are wood and water, and sometimes they all carry supplies of these when they go to hunt deer, which most usually are found where there is neither. On the day of their arrival, they kill the deer and other animals that they can, and consume

¶ La relacion que dio Aluar nu-
ñez cabeça de vaca de lo acaescido enlas Indias
enla armada donde yua por gouernador Pā
philo de narbaez desde el año de veynte
y siete hasta el año d treynta y seys
que boluio a Seuilla con tres
de su compañia.:.

TITLE-PAGE OF THE "RELACION OF CABEZA DE VACA"

the water in cooking and the fires they may need to relieve them of mosquitoes. . . . Inland there are many deer, and birds and beasts other than those I have spoken of. Cattle come as far as this. I have seen them three times, and eaten of their meat. I think they are about the size of those of Spain. They have small horns like the cows of Morocco, and the hair very long and flocky like that of the merino. Some are light brown (pardillas) and others black. To my judgment the flesh is finer and fatter than that of this country. The Indians make blankets of the hides of those not full grown, and of the larger they make shoes and bucklers. They come as far as the sea coast of Florida in a direction from the north, and range over a district of more than four hundred leagues, and in the whole extent of plain over which they run, the people that inhabit near there descend and live on them, and scatter a vast many skins throughout the country.



AUTOGRAPH OF CABEZA DE VACA

The tales which Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca brought back from his captivity among the Indians and from his journey from the Gulf of Mexico through Texas and northern Mexico (1528–1536) to the Mexican Province of Culiacan induced Men-

doza, Viceroy of Mexico, to send Francisco Vasquez de Coronado to explore the country northward. In this expedition (1540–42) Coronado, in his quest for the "Seven Cities of Cibola," which many commentators identify as the pueblos of Zuñi, captured the Zuñi or adjacent pueblos while one of his lieutenants discovered the Grand Cañon of the Colorado. This was eighty years before the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth. Continuing his journey in search of the fabled Quivira, a city supposed to be rich in gold and treasure, Coronado journeyed

BUFFALO OR "CROOK-BACKED" OX
(The first picture. From Gomara. Earlier than the picture on page 11)

in a northeasterly direction and probably advanced as far as northeastern Kansas. Of his journey an admirable narrative has been preserved, written by Castaneda, apparently a private soldier in the expedition, but evidently well educated. This classic among early explorations is quoted by Francisco Lopez de Gomara, who wrote "The General History of the Indies," in which there appears the very first picture of the "Crookebacked Ox," or

buffalo. This is reproduced here from the edition of Medina, 1553. Hakluyt also refers to Coronado, but Castaneda's narrative remained known only to scholars until Dr. George Parker Winship made the first and the definitive translation which was published by the U. S. Bureau of Ethnology, 1896, in a report now out of print. This translation with an introduction and some added notes was republished in a separate volume in the Trail Makers Series, A. S. Barnes & Co., N. Y., 1905. The narrative also appears in the "Spanish Explorers" (Scribner's). Winship's translation gives the following account of the buffalo:

As I have related in the first part, people follow the cows, hunting them and tanning the skins to take to the settlements in the winter to sell, since they go there to pass the winter, each company going to those which are nearest, some to the settlements at Cicuye, others toward Quivira, and others to the settlements which are situated in the direction of Florida. These people are called Querechos and Teyas. They described some large settlements, and judging from what was seen of these people and from the accounts they gave of other places, there are a good many more of these people than there are of those at the settlements. They have better figures, are better warriors, and are more feared. They travel like the Arabs, with their tents and troops of dogs loaded with poles and having Moorish pack saddles with girths. When the load gets disarranged, the dogs howl, calling some one to fix them right. These people eat raw flesh and drink blood. They do not eat human flesh. They are a kind people and not cruel. They are faithful friends. They are able to make themselves very well understood by means of signs. They dry the flesh in the sun, cutting it thin like a leaf, and when dry they grind it like meal to keep it and make a sort of sea soup

of it to eat. A handful thrown into a pot swells up so as to increase very much. They season it with fat, which they always try to secure when they kill a cow. They empty a large gut and fill it with blood, and carry this around the neck to drink when they are thirsty. When they open the belly of a cow, they squeeze out the chewed grass and drink the juice that remains behind, because they say that this contains the essence of the stomach. They cut the hide open at the back and pull it off at the joints, using a flint as large as a finger, tied in a little stick, with as much ease as if working with a good iron tool. They give it an edge with their own teeth. The quickness with which they do this is something worth seeing and noting.

There are very great numbers of wolves on these plains, which go around with the cows. They have white skins. The deer are pied with white. Their skin is loose, so that when they are killed it can be pulled off with the hand while warm, coming off like pigskin. The rabbits, which are very numerous, are so foolish that those on horseback killed them with their lances. This is when they are mounted among the cows. They fly from a person on foot.

Balboa's Discovery of the Pacific Ocean, 1513

Extract from Manuel José Quintana's "Relation" of the voyage in "Historia General de las Indias Occidentales." Vasco Nuñez de Balboa was falsely accused of traitorous intentions by Davila, his successor and rival, and was beheaded in 1517, before he had completed his narrative. (See page 13.)

In the beginning of September 1513, Balboa embarked on an exploratory expedition, sailing direct to Coiba, an

VASCO NUÑEZ DE BALBOA

island near the coast of Veragua, where he left the vessels, and proceeded into the interior. By his prudent policy he won the good will of several tribes of Indians, and after a painful journey of about a month, he arrived on the 29th of September at a mountain, from the summit of which the immense expanse of the Pacific Ocean burst upon his view. Affected at the sight, and falling upon his knees, he thanked the Almighty for having granted him the favour of discovering those immense regions, and then addressed his companions in congratulatory and encouraging terms. They all embraced him, and promised to be faithful to the last moment. He then cut down a large tree, and depriving it of its branches, erected a cross upon a heap of stones, and wrote the names of Fernando and Isabel on the trunks of several trees round about. Descending with his companions to the sea-shore, Balboa, in full armour, having in one hand his sword and the standard of Castile in the other, stood upon the sand until, the tide ascending, the water reached his knees, and then, in the hearing of his companions, declared that he took possession of those seas and regions in the names of the king and queen of Castile. The procedure was formally registered by a notary, in order to insure the validity of the act of possession.

TITLE-PAGE "MUNDUS NOVUS," 1504

De Soto's Discovery of the Mississippi, 1541

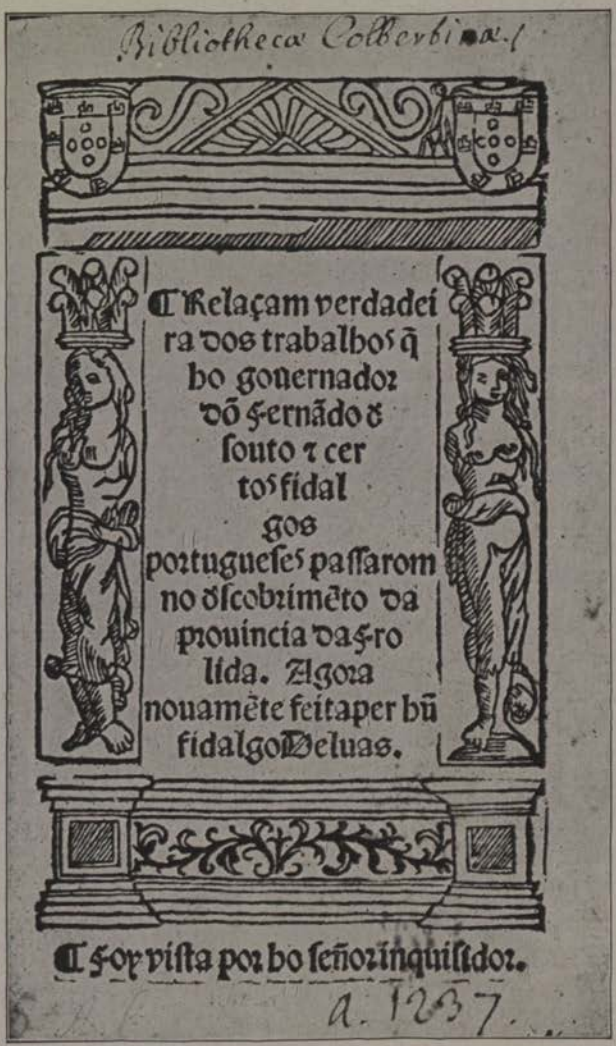
Text derived from the narrative of "De Soto's Journey by the Gentleman of Elvas," a translation of the original of Relaçam Verdadeira, 1557. The crossing of the river in May, 1541, is supposed to have been made either at Council Bend or Walnut Bend, in Tunica County, Mississippi, from twenty-five to thirty-eight miles below Memphis. (See page 14.)

Three days having gone by since some maize had been sought after, and but little found in comparison with the great want there was of it, the Governor became obliged to move at once, notwithstanding the wounded had need of repose, to where there should be abundance. He accordingly set out for Quizquiz, and marched seven days through a wilderness, having many pondy places, with thick forests, all fordable, however, on horseback, except some basins or lakes that were swum. He arrived at a town of Quizquiz without being descried, and seized all the people before they could come out of their houses. Among them was the mother of the cacique; and the Governor sent word to him, by one of the captives, to come and receive her, with the rest he had taken. The answer he returned was, that if his lordship would order them to be loosed and sent, he would come to visit and do him service.

The Governor, since his men arrived weary, and likewise weak, for want of maize, and the horses were also lean, determined to yield to the requirement and try

to have peace; so the mother and the rest were ordered to be set free, and with words of kindness were dismissed. The next day, while he was hoping to see the chief, many Indians came, with bows and arrows, to set upon the Christians, when he commanded that all the armed horsemen should be mounted and in readiness. Finding them prepared, the Indians stopped at the distance of a crossbow-shot from where the Governor was, near a river-bank, where, after remaining quietly half an hour, six chiefs arrived at the camp, stating that they had come to find out what people it might be; for that they had knowledge from their ancestors that they were to be subdued by a white race; they consequently desired to return to the cacique, to tell him that he should come presently to obey and serve the Governor. After presenting six or seven skins and shawls brought with them, they took their leave, and returned with the others who were waiting for them by the shore. The cacique came not, nor sent another message.

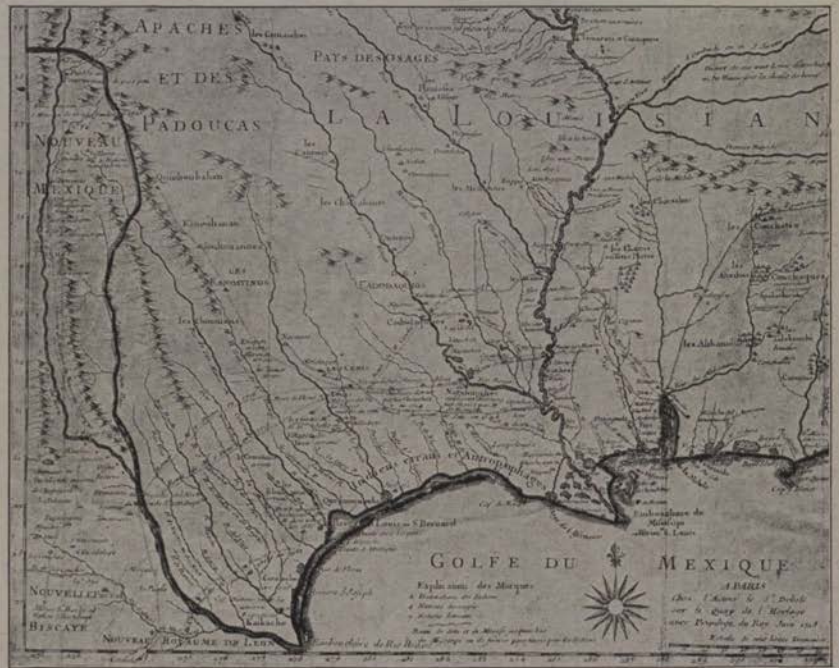
There was little maize in the place, and the Governor moved to another town, half a league from the great river, where it was found in sufficiency. He went to look at the river, and saw that near it there was much timber of which piraguas might be made, and a good situation in which the camp might be placed. He directly moved, built houses, and settled on a plain a crossbow-shot from the water, bringing together there all the maize of the towns behind, that at once they might go to work and cut down trees for sawing out planks to build barges. The Indians soon came from up the stream, jumped on shore, and told the Governor that they were the vassals of a great lord, named Aquixo, who was the suzerain of many towns and people on the other shore; and they made known from him, that he would come the day after, with all his people, to hear what his lordship would command him.


Bibliotheca Colbertina.
¶ Relaçam verdadeira dos trabalhos q̃ ho gouernador dõ Fernãdo de souto & certos fidalgos portugueses passarom no descobrimẽto da prouincia da Frolida. Agora nouamẽte feita per hũ fidalgo de Elvas.
¶ Foy vista por ho señor inquisidor.
a. 1237.

TITLE-PAGE "RELAÇAM VERDADEIRA"
("Narrative of the Gentleman of Elvas")

The next day the cacique arrived, with two hundred canoes filled with men, having weapons. They were painted with ochre, wearing great bunches of white and other plumes of many colors, having feathered shields in their hands, with which they sheltered the oarsmen on either side, the warriors standing erect from bow to stern, holding bows and arrows. The barge in which the cacique came had an awning at the poop under which he sate; and the like had the barges of the other chiefs; and there, from under the canopy, where the chief man was, the course was directed and orders issued to the rest. All came down together, and arrived within a stone's cast of the ravine, whence the cacique said to the Governor, who was walking along the river-bank, with others who bore him company, that he had come to visit, serve, and obey him; for he had heard that he was the greatest of lords, the most powerful on all the earth, and that he must see what he would have him do. The Governor expressed his pleasure, and besought him to land, that they might the better confer; but the chief gave no reply, ordering three barges to draw near, wherein was great quantity of fish, and loaves like bricks, made of the pulp of plums (persimmons), which Soto receiving, gave him thanks and again entreated him to land.

Making the gift had been a pretext, to discover if any harm might be done; but, finding the Governor and his people on their guard, the cacique began to draw off from the shore, when the crossbowmen who were in readiness, with loud cries shot at the Indians, and struck down five or six of them. They retired with great order, not one leaving the oar, even though the one next to him might have fallen, and covering themselves, they withdrew. Afterwards they came many times and landed; when approached, they would go back to their barges. These were fine-looking men,



DELISLE'S MAP OF LOUISIANA WITH THE ROUTE OF DE SOTO

very large and well formed; and what with the awnings, the plumes, and the shields, the pennons, and the number of people in the fleet, it appeared like a famous armada of galleys.

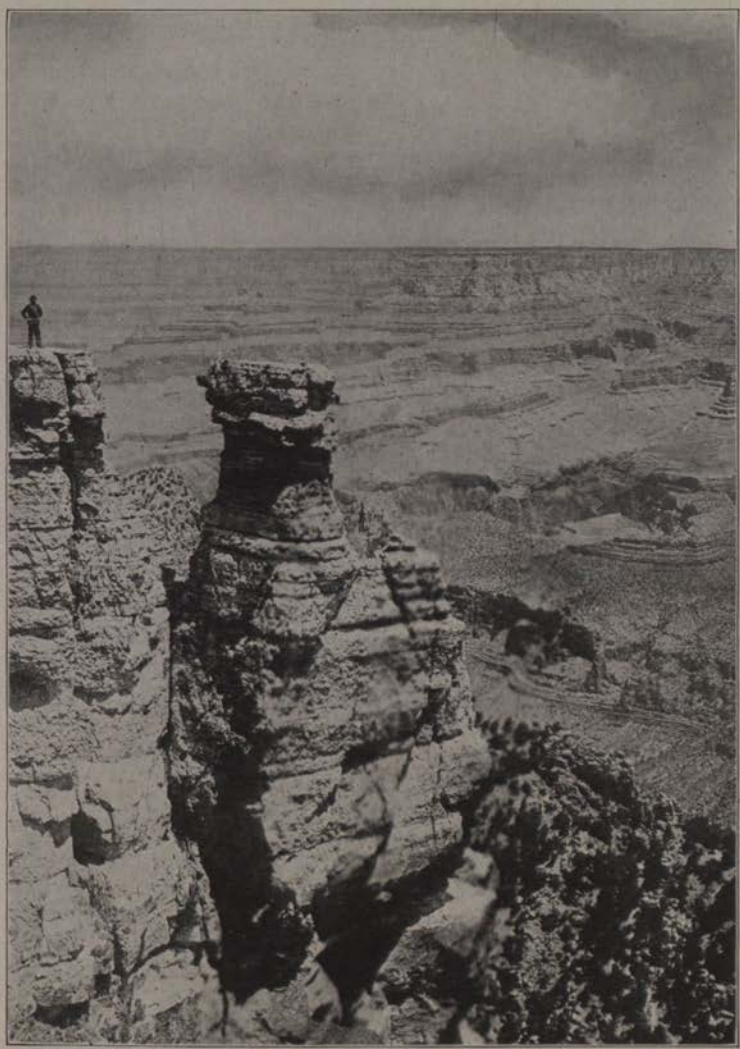
During the thirty days that were passed there, four piraguas were built, into three of which, one morning, three hours before daybreak, the Governor ordered twelve cavalry to enter, four in each, men in whom he had confidence that they would gain the land notwithstanding the Indians, and secure the passage, or die: he also sent some crossbowmen of foot with them, and in the other piragua, oarsmen, to take them to the opposite shore. He ordered Juan de Guzman to cross with the infantry, of which he had remained captain in the place of Francisco Maldonado; and because the current was stiff, they went up along the side of the river a quarter of a league, and in passing over they were carried down, so as to land opposite the camp; but, before arriving there, at twice the distance of a stone's cast, the horsemen rode out from the piraguas to an open area of hard and even ground, which they all reached without accident.

So soon as they had come to shore the piraguas returned; and when the sun was up two hours high, the people had all got over. The distance was near half a league: a man standing on the shore could not be told, whether he were a man or something else, from the other side. The stream was swift, and very deep; the water, always flowing turbidly, brought along from above many trees and much timber, driven onward by its force. There were many fish of several sorts, the greater part differing from those of the fresh waters of Spain, as will be told hereafter.

The Discovery of the Grand Cañon of the Colorado, 1540

Excited by Cabeza de Vaca's report of enormous riches to be had in the "seven cities of Cibola," which finally proved to be only Indian pueblos, Mendota, Viceroy of Mexico, organized an expedition for their conquest uuder Francisco Vasquez de Coronado. He explored the arid regions of the Southwest, and is believed to have gone as far north as northeastern Kansas. His fruitless expedition has been previously referred to. The following extract is from Castañeda's "Narrative of the Expedition of Coronado," written in Spanish in 1596, translated by George Parker Winship, and first published by the United States Bureau of Ethnology. (See page 16.)

As Don Pedro de Tovar was not commissioned to go farther, he returned from there and gave his information to the general, who dispatched Don Garcia Lopez de Cardenas with about twelve companies to go to see this river. He was well received when he reached Tusayan and was entertained by the natives, who gave him guides for this journey. They started from here loaded with provisions, for they had to go through a desert country before reaching the inhabited region, which the Indians said was more than twenty days' journey. After they had gone twenty days they came to the banks of the river, which seemed to be more than three or four leagues in an air line across to the other bank of the stream which flowed between them. This



GRAND CAÑON. INTERESTING ROCK FORMS ALONG THE RIM

country was elevated and full of low twisted pines, very cold, and lying open toward the north, so that, this being the warm season, no one could live there on account of the cold. They spent three days on this bank looking for a passage down to the river, which looked from above as if the water was six feet across, although the Indians said it was half a league wide. It was impossible to descend, for after these three days Captain Melgosa and one Juan Galeras and another companion, who were the three lightest and most agile men, made an attempt to go down at the least difficult place, and went down until those who were above were unable to keep sight of them. They returned about four o'clock in the afternoon, not having succeeded in reaching the bottom on account of the great difficulties which they found, because what seemed to be easy from above was not so, but instead very hard and difficult. They said that they had been down about a third of the way and that the river seemed very large from the place which they reached, and that from what they saw they thought the Indians had given the width correctly. Those who stayed above had estimated that some huge rocks on the sides of the cliffs seemed to be about as tall as a man, but those who went down swore that when they reached these rocks they were bigger than the great tower of Seville. They did not go farther up the river, because they could not get water. Before this they had had to go a league or two inland every day late in the evening in order to find water, and the guides said that if they should go four days farther it would not be possible to go on, because there was no water within three or four days, for when they travel across this region themselves they take with them women loaded with water in gourds, and bury the gourds of water along the way, to use when they return, and besides this, they travel in one day over what it takes us two days to accomplish.

The Founding of St. Augustine, 1565

Extract from the narrative of Francisco Lopez de Mendoza Grajales, chaplain of the fleet commanded by Captain-General Pedro Menendez de Aviles, which reached the coast of Florida on

MENENDEZ, FOUNDER OF ST. AUGUSTINE

August 28, 1565. Reprinted from French's "Historical Collections of Louisiana and Florida." (See page 19.)

On Saturday, the 25th (August), the captain-general (Menendez) came to visit our vessel and get the ordnance for disembarkment at Florida. This ordnance consisted of two rampart pieces, of two sorts of culverins, of very small calibre, powder and balls; and he also took two soldiers to take care of the pieces. Having armed his vessel, he stopped and made us an address, in which he instructed us what we had to do on arrival at the place where the French were anchored. I will not dwell on this subject, on which there was a good deal said for and against, although the opinion of the general finally prevailed. There were two thousand (hundred) Frenchmen in the seaport into which we were to force an entrance. I made some opposition to the plans, and begged the general to consider that he had the care of a thousand souls, for which he must give a good account. Then followed a fine address, which I shall not repeat here, as it would make my report too long. Please the Lord and Blessed Virgin, I will, however, report it on my return.

On Monday, August 27, while we were near the entrance to the *Bahama Channel*, God showed to us a miracle from heaven. About nine o'clock in the evening a comet appeared, which showed itself directly above us, a little eastward, giving so much light that it might have been taken for the sun. It went towards the west,—that is, towards Florida,—and its brightness lasted long enough to repeat two *Credos*. According to the sailors, this was a good omen.

On Tuesday, the 28th, we had a calm more dead than anything we had yet experienced while at sea. Our vessel was about one and half leagues from the first galley and the other vessels. We were all tired, and especially I, from praying to God to give us weather which should put an end to all trials and disappointments. About two o'clock He had pity on us, and sent so good a wind that we came under full sail to rejoin

ST. AUGUSTINE. FOUNDED BY MENENDEZ

(From Ogilby's "America")

the galley. One thing happened which I regard as miraculous. While we were becalmed, and after we had joined the other vessels, none of the pilots knew where we were, some pretending we were as much as a hundred leagues from Florida. However, thanks to God and the prayers of the Blessed Virgin, we soon had the pleasure of seeing land. We steered in that direction, anchored near a point of land, and found ourselves actually in Florida, and not very far distant from the enemy, which was for us an occasion of great joy. That very evening our general assembled the pilots on the galley to discuss what was to be done. Next day, the 29th, at daylight, the galley and all the other ships weighed anchor, and coasted along in search of the enemy or a harbor favorable for disembarking.

The following is reprinted from "Harper's Encyclopædia of United States History," edition of 1901:

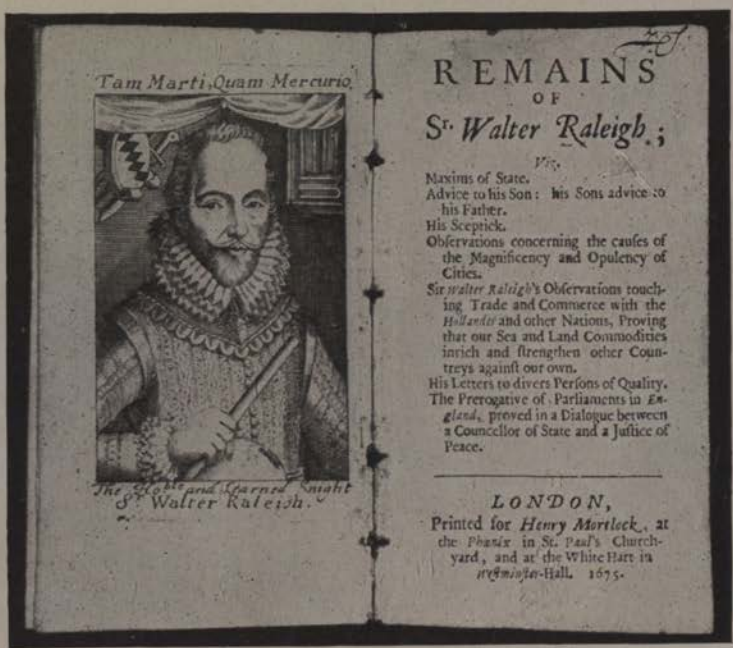
When Menendez gave up the chase of the Frenchmen under Ribault he turned back towards the Florida coasts, entered an estuary in a boat manned by six oarsmen, leaving his large flag-ship at anchor outside, and, accompanied by his chaplain, Mendoza, and followed by other boats filled with "gentlemen" and ecclesiastics, he went ashore, while trumpets sounded, drums beat, cannons thundered, and flags waved. The chaplain walked at head of the procession, bearing a large cross and chanting a hymn. Menendez followed with his train, carrying in his own hand the standard of Spain unfurled. Mendoza, arrayed in rich sacerdotal garments, kissed the Cross, and then planted it in the sand by the side of the staff that upheld the royal standard, and against which leaned a shield bearing the arms of Spain. Then, after all had done homage to the priest, Menendez took formal possession of the country in the name of Philip of Spain.

Queen Elizabeth's Charter to Sir Walter Ralegh, 1584

The original title of this grant is "*Charter in Favor of Sir Walter Ralegh, Knight, for the Discovery and Planting of New Lands in America, 25 March 1584.*" Reprinted from "Harper's Encyclopædia of United States History," Vol. VII., edition of 1901. (See page 30.)

Elizabeth by the grace of God of England, France and Ireland Queene, defender of the faith, &c. To all people to whom these presents shall come, greeting. Know ye that of our especial grace, certaine science, & meere motion, we have given and graunted, and by these presents for us, our heires and successors doe give and graunt to our trusty and welbeloved servant Walter Ralegh Esquire, and to his heires and assignes for ever, free liberty & licence from time to time, and at all times for ever hereafter, to discover, search, finde out, and view such remote, heathen and barbarous lands, countreis, and territories, not actually possessed of any Christian prince, nor inhabited by Christian people, as to him, his heires and assignes, and to every or any of them shall seeme good, and the same to have, holde, occupy & enjoy to him, his heires and assignes for ever, with all prerogatives, commodities, jurisdictiõs, royalties, privileges, franchises and preeminences, thereto or thereabout both by sea and land, whatsoever we by our letters patents may grant, and as we or any of our noble progenitors have heretofore granted to any person or

persons, bodies politique or corporate: and the saide Walter Ralegh, his heires and assignes, and all such as from time to time, by licence of us, our heires and successors, shal goe or travaile thither to inhabite or remaine, there to build and fortifie, at the discretion of


Tam Marti, Quam Mercurio.

The Right and Learned Knight Sr Walter Raleigh.

REMAINS
OF
Sr. Walter Raleigh;
Viz.
Maxims of State.
Advice to his Son: his Sons advice to his Father.
His Sceptick.
Observations concerning the causes of the Magnificency and Opulency of Cities.
Sir Walter Raleigh's Observations touching Trade and Commerce with the Hollander and other Nations, Proving that our Sea and Land Commodities inrich and strengthen other Countreys against our own.
His Letters to divers Persons of Quality.
The Prerogative of Parliaments in England, proved in a Dialogue between a Councellor of State and a Justice of Peace.

LONDON,
Printed for Henry Mortlock, at the Phœnix in St. Paul's Churchyard, and at the White Hart in Westminster-Hall. 1675.

TITLE-PAGE AND FRONTISPIECE REDUCED OF ONE OF THE EARLIEST BOOKS ON SIR WALTER RALEGH

the said Walter Ralegh, his heires & assignes, the statutes or act of Parliament made against fugitives, or against such as shall depart, remaine or continue out of our Realme of England without licence, or any statute, act, law, or any ordinance whatsoever to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

And we do likewise by these presents, of our especial grace, meere motion, and certaine knowledge, for us,

our heires and successors, give and graunt full authoritie, libertie, and power to the said Walter Ralegh, his heires and assignes, and every of them, that he and they, and every or any of them shall and may at all and every time and times hereafter, have, take, and leade in the sayde voyage, and travaile thitherward, or to inhabite there with him or them, and every or any of them, such and so many of our subjects as shall willingly accompany him or them, and every or any of them: and to whom also we doe by these presents, give full libertie and authoritie in that behalfe, and also to have, take and employ, and use sufficient shipping and furniture for the transportations, and Navigations in that behalfe, so that none of the same persons or any of them be such as hereafter shall be restrained by us, our heires or successors.

And further that the said Walter Ralegh his heires and assignes, and every of them, shall have, holde, occupie and enjoy to him, his heires and assignes, and every of them for ever, all the soyle of all such landes, territories, and Countreis, so to be discovered and possessed as aforesayd, and of all such Cities, Castles, Townes, Villages, and places in the same, with the right royalties, franchises, and jurisdictions, as well marine as other within the sayd landes, or Countreis, or the seas thereunto adjoyning, to be had, or used, with full power to dispose thereof, and of every part in fee simple or otherwise, according to the order of the lawes of England, as neere as the same conveniently may be, at his, and their wil and pleasure, to any persons then being, or that shall remaine within the allegiance of us, our heires and successors: reserving alwayes to us, our heires and successors, for all services, dueties, and demaunds, the fift part of all the oare of golde and silver, that from time to time, and at all times after such discoverie, subduing and possessing, shall be there gotten and obteined: All which lands, Countreis, and

territories shall for ever be holden of the said Walter Ralegh, his heires and assignes, of us, our heires and successors, by homage, and by the sayd payment of the said fift part, reserved onely for all services.

And moreover, we do by these presents, for us, our heires and successors, give and grant licence to the said Walter Ralegh, his heires, and assignes, and every of them, that he and they, and every or any of them, shall and may from time to time, and at all times for

ENGLISH BRIGANTINE USED FOR COMMERCE IN TIME OF ELIZABETH

ever hereafter, for his and their defence, encounter and expulse, repell and resist as well by sea as by lande, and by all other wayes whatsoever, all and every such person and persons whatsoever, as without especiall liking and licence of the sayd Walter Ralegh, and of his heires and assignes, shall attempt to inhabite within the sayde Countreys, or any of them, or within the space of two hundreth leagues neere to the place or places within such Countreys as aforesayd (if they shall not bee before planted, or inhabited within the limits as

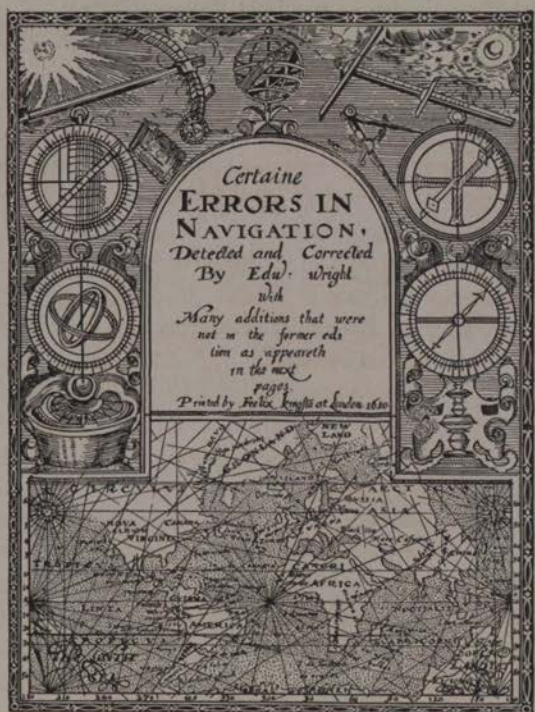
aforesayd with the subjects of any Christian Prince being in amitie with us) where the sayd Walter Ralegh, his heires, or assignes, or any of them, or his, or their, or any of their associats or company, shall within sixe yeeres (next ensuing) make their dwellings or abidings, or that shall enterprise or attempt at any time hereafter unlawfully to annoy, eyther by Sea or Lande the sayde Walter Ralegh, his heires or assignes, or any of them, or his or their, or any of his or their companies: giving and graunting by these presents further power and authoritie to the sayd Walter Ralegh, his heires and assignes, and every of them from time to time, and at all times for ever hereafter, to take and surprise by all maner of meanes whatsoever, all and every those person or persons, with their Shippes, Vessels, and other goods and furniture, which without the licence of the sayde Walter Ralegh, or his heires, or assignes, as aforesayd, shalbe found traffiquing into any Harbour, or Harbours, Creeke, or Creekes, within the limits aforesayd, (the subjects of our Realmes and Dominions, and all other persons in amitie with us, trading to the Newfound lands for fishing as heretofore they have commonly used, or being driven by force of a tempest, or shipwracke onely excepted:) and those persons, and every of them, with their shippes, vessels, goods, and furniture to deteine and possesse as of good and lawfull prize, according to the discretion of him the sayd Walter

RALEGH ENJOYING HIS PIPE

Ralegh, his heires, and assignes, and every, or any of them. And for uniting in more perfect league and amitie, of such Countryes, landes, and territories so to be possessed and inhabited as aforesayd with our Realmes of England and Ireland, and the better incouragement of men to these enterprises: we doe by these presents, graunt and declare that all such Countries, so hereafter to be possessed and inhabited as is aforesayd, from thencefoorth shall be of the allegiance of us, our heires and successours. And wee doe graunt to the sayd Walter Ralegh, his heires, and assignes, and to all, and every of them, and to all, and every other person and persons, being of our allegiance, whose names shall be noted or entred in some of our Courts of recorde within our Realme of England, that with the assent of the sayd Walter Ralegh, his heires or assignes, shall in his journeis for discoverie, or in the journeis for conquest hereafter travaile to such lands, countreis and territories, as aforesayd, and to their, and to every of their heires, that they, and every or any of them, being eyther borne within our sayde Realmes of England or Irelande, or in any other place within our allegiance, and which hereafter shall be inhabiting within any the Lands, Countryes, and Territories, with such licence (as aforesayd) shall and may have all the privileges of free Denizens, and persons native of England, and within our allegiance in such like ample maner and forme, as if they were borne and personally resident within our said Realme of England, any law, custome, or usage to the contrary notwithstanding.

And forasmuch as upon the finding out, discovering, or inhabiting of such remote lands, countries, and territories as aforesaid, it shalbe necessary for the safety of all men, that shall adventure themselves in those journeys or voyages, to determine to live together in Christian peace, and civill quietnesse eche with other, whereby every one may with more pleasure and profit enjoy that

whereunto they shall atteine with great paine and perill, wee for us, our heires and successors, are likewise pleased and contented, and by these presents doe give & grant to the said Walter Ralegh, his heires and assignes for ever that he and they, and every or any of them, shall



FACSIMILE OF TITLE-PAGE OF A SEA HANDBOOK OF RALEGH'S TIME

and may from time to time for ever hereafter, within the said mentioned remote lands and countries, in the way by the seas thither, and from thence, have full and meere power and authoritie to correct, punish, pardon, governe, and rule by their and every or any of their good discretions and policies, as well in causes capitall, or criminall, as civill, both marine and other, all such our sub-

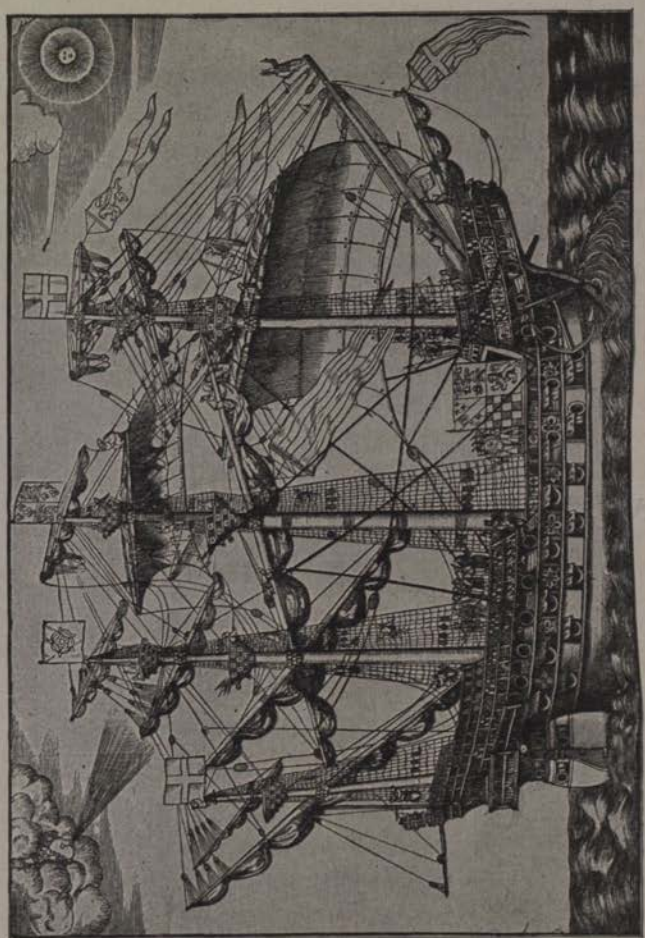
jects, as shall from time to time adventure themselves in the said journeis or voyages, or that shall at any time hereafter inhabite any such lands, countreis, or territories as aforesayd, or that shall abide within 200. leagues of any of the sayd place or places, where the sayde Walter Ralegh, his heires or assignes, or any of them, or any of his or their associats or companies, shall inhabite within 6. yeeres next ensuing the date hereof, according to such statutes, lawes and ordinances as shall be by him the sayd Walter Ralegh, his heires and assignes, and every or any of them devised, or established, for the better government of the said people as aforesaid. So alwayes as the said statutes, lawes, and ordinances may be, as nere as conveniently may bee, agreeable to the forme of the lawes, statutes, government, or pollicie of England, and also so as they be not against the true Christian faith, nowe professed in the Church of England, nor in any wise to withdrawe any of the subjects or people of those lands or places from the alleagance of us, our heires and successours, as their immediate Soveraigne under God.

And further, we doe by these presents for us, our heires and successors, give and grant ful power and authoritie to our trustie and welbeloved Counsailour Sir William Cecill knight, Lorde Burghley, or high Treasourer of England, and to the Lorde Treasourer of England for us, our heires and successors, for the time being, and to the privie Counsaile of us, our heires and successors, or any foure or more of them, for the time being, that he, they, or any foure or more of them, shall and may from time to time, and at all times hereafter, under his or their handes or Seales by vertue of these presents, authorize and licence the sayd Walter Ralegh, his heires and assignes, and every or any of them by him, & by themselves, or by their, or any of their sufficient Atturnies, Deputies, Officers, Ministers, Factors, and servants, to imbarke & transport out of our Realme of

England and Ireland, and the Dominions thereof, all or any of his or their goods, and all or any the goods of his and their associats and companies, and every or any of them, with such other necessaries and commodities of any our Realmes, as to the sayde Lorde Treasurer, or foure or more of the privie Counsaile, of us our heires and successors for the time being (as aforesaid) shalbe from time to time by his or their wisedomes, or discretions thought meete and convenient, for the better reliefe and supportation of him the sayde Walter Ralegh, his heires and assignes, and every or any of them, and of his or their or any of their associats and companies, any act, statute, law, or any thing to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

Provided alwayes, and our wil and pleasure is, and we do hereby declare to all Christian kings, princes, and states, that if the sayde Walter Ralegh, his heires or assignes, or any of them, or any other by their licence or appointment, shall at any time or times hereafter robbe or spoile by sea or by land, or doe any acte of unjust or unlawful hostilitie, to any of the subjects of us, our heires or successors, or to any of the subjects of any the kings, princes, rulers, Governours, or estates, being then in perfect league and amitie with us, our heires and successours, and that upon such injurie, or upon just complaint of any such Prince, Ruler, Governour or estate, or their subjects, wee, our heires and successors, shall make open Proclamation within any the portes of our Realme of England, that the saide Walter Ralegh, his heires and assignes, and adherents, or any to whom these our Letters patents may extende, shall within the termes to bee limited, by such Proclamation, make full restitution, and satisfaction of all such injuries done: so as both we and the said Princes, or other so complaining, may hold us and themselves fully contented: And that if the said Walter Ralegh, his heires and assignes, shall not make or cause to be

made satisfaction accordingly within such time so to be limited, that then it shall be lawful to us, our heires and successors, to put the sayd Walter Ralegh, his



THE "ARK RALEGH," THE ENGLISH FLAG-SHIP

heires and assignes, and adherents, and all the inhabitants of the saide places to be discovered (as is aforesaid) or any of them out of our allegeance and protection, and that from and after such time of putting out of

protection of the sayde Walter Ralegh, his heires, assignes and adherents, and others so to be put out, and the said places within their habitation, possession and rule, shall be out of our allegeance and protection, and free for all Princes and others to pursue with hostilitie, as being not our subjects, nor by us any way to be avouched, maintained, or defended, nor to be holden as any of ours, nor to our protection, or dominion, or allegeance any way belonging: for that expresse mention of the cleere yeerely value of the certaintie of the premisses, or any part thereof, or of any other gift, or grant by us, or any our progenitors, or predecessors to the said Walter Ralegh, before this time made in these presents bee not expressed, or any other grant, ordinance, provision, proclamation, or restraint to the contrary thereof, before this time, given, ordained, or provided, or any other thing, cause, or matter whatsoever, in any wise notwithstanding. In witnesse whereof, wee have caused these our letters to be made Patents. Witnesse our selves, at Westminster the five and twentie day of March in the sixe and twentith yeere of our Raigns.

The First Voyage to Roanoke, 1584

The original title of this "Relation" reads as follows:

"*The First Voyage made to the Coasts of America, with two Barks, wherein were Captains M. Philip Amadas, and M. Arthur Barlowe, who discovered Part of the Countrey now called Virginia Anno 1584. Written by One of the said Captaines, and sent to Sir Walter Ralegh, Knight, at whose Charge and Direction, the said Voyage was set forth.*" (See page 30.)

The 27 day of Aprill, in the yeere of our redemption, 1584, we departed the West of England, with two barkes well furnished with men and victuals, having received our last and perfect directions by your letters, confirming the former instructions and commandments delivered by your selfe at our leaving the river of Thames. And I think it is a matter both unnecessary, for the manifest discoverie of the Countrey, as also for tediousnesse sake, remember unto you the diurnall of our course, sayling thither and returning; onely I have presumed to present unto you this briefe discourse, by which you may judge how profitable this land is likely to succeede, as well to your selfe, by whose direction and charge, and by whose servantes this our discoverie hath beene performed, as also to her Highnesse, and the Commonwealth, in which we hope your wisdome wilbe satisfied, considering that as much by us hath bene brought to light, as by those smal meanes, and number of men we had, could any way have bene expected, or hoped for.

The tenth of May we arrived at the Canaries, and the tenth of June in this present yeere, we were fallen with the Islands of the West Indies, keeping a more South-easterly course then was needefull, because wee doubted that the current of the Bay of Mexico, disbogging betweene the Cape of Florida and Havana, had bene of greater force than afterwards we found it to bee. At which Islands we found the ayre very unwholesome, and our men grew for the most part ill disposed: so that having refreshed our selves with sweet water, & fresh victuall, we departed the twelfth day of our arrivall there. These islands, with the rest adjoining, are so well knowen to your selfe, and to many others, as I will not trouble you with the remembrance of them.

A SHIP OF THE PERIOD

The second of July we found shole water, wher we smelt so sweet, and so strong a smel, as if we had bene in the midst of some delicate garden abounding with all kinde of odoriferous flowers, by which we were assured, that the land could not be farre distant: and keeping good watch, and bearing but slacke saile, the fourth of the same moneth we arrived upon the coast, which we supposed to be a continent and firme lande, and we sayled along the same a hundred and twentie English miles before we could finde any entrance, or river issuing into the Sea. The first that appeared unto us, we entred, though not without some difficultie, &

cast anker about three harquebuz-shot within the havens mouth on the left hand of the same; and after thanks given to God for our safe arrivall thither, we manned our boats, and went to view the land next adjoyning, and to take possession of the same, in the right of the Queenes most excellent Majestie, and rightfull Queene, and Princess of the same, and after delivered the same over to your use, according to her Majesties grant, and letters patents, under her Highnesse great seale. Which being performed, according to the ceremonies used in such enterprises, we viewed the land about us, being, whereas we first landed, very sandie and low towards the waters side, but so full of grapes, as the very beating and surge of the Sea overflowed them, of which we found such plentie, as well there as in all places else, both on the sand and on the greene soile on the hils, as in the plaines, as well on every little shrubbe, as also climing towardes the tope of high Cedars, that I thinke in all the world the like abundance is not to be found; and my selfe having seene those parts of Europe that most abound, find such difference as were incredible to be written.

We passed from the Sea side towardes the toppes of those hilles next adjoyning, being but of meane higth, and from thence wee behelde the Sea on both sides to the North, and to the South, finding no ende any of both wayes. This lande laye stretching it selfe to the West, which after wee found to bee but an Island of twentie miles long, and not above sixe miles broade. Under the banke or hill whereon we stoode, we behelde the valleys replenished with goodly Cedar trees, and having discharged our harquebuz-shot, such a flocke of Cranes (the most part white), arose under us, with such a cry redoubled by many echoes, as if an armie of men had showted all together.

This Island had many goodly woodes full of Deere, Conies, Hares, and Fowle, even in the middest of Sum-

mer in incredible abundance. The woodes are not such as you finde in Bohemia, Moscouia, or Hercynia, barren and fruitless, but the highest and reddest Cedars of the world, farre bettering the Cedars of the Açores, of the Indies, or Lybanus, Pynes, Cypres, Sassaphras, the Lentisk, or the tree that beareth the Masticke, the tree that beareth the rine of blacke Sinamon, of which Master Winter brought from the straights of Magellan, and many other of excellent smell and qualitie. We remained by the side of this Island two whole dayes before we saw any people of the Countrey: the third day we espied one small boat rowing towardes us having in it three persons: this boat came to the Island side, foure harquebuz-shot from our shippes, and there two of the people remaining, the third came along the shoreside towards us, and wee being then all within board, he walked up and downe upon the point of the land next unto us: then the Master and the Pilot of the Admirall, Simon Ferdinando, and the Captaine Philip Amadas, my selfe, and others rowed to the land, whose comming this fellow attended, never making any shewe of fear or doubt. And after he had spoken of many things not understood by us, we brought him with his owne good liking, aboord the ships, and gave him a shirt, a hat & some other things, and made him taste of our wine, and our meat, which he liked very wel: and after having viewed both barks, he departed, and went to his owne boat againe, which hee had left in a little Cove or Creeke adjoyning: assoone as hee was two bow shoot into the water, hee fell to fishing, and in lesse than halfe an houre, he had laden his boate as deepe as it could swimme, with which hee came againe to the point of the lande, and there he divided his fish into two parts, pointing one part to the ship, and the other to the pinnesse; which, after he had, as much as he might, requited the former benefites received, departed out of our sight.

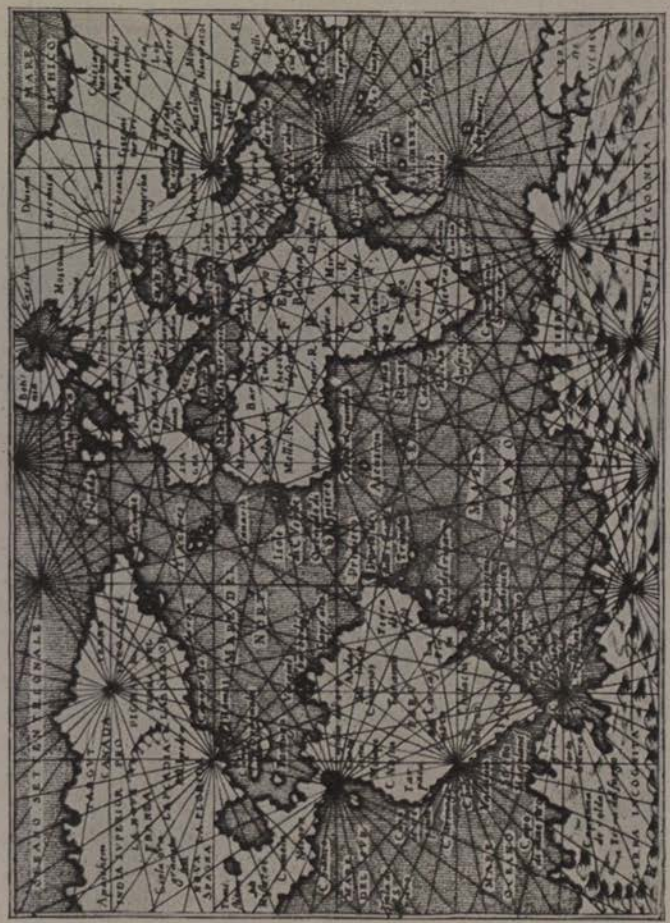
A briefe and true report
of the new found land of Virginia
of the commodities and of the nature and manners of the naturall inhabitants. Discouered by the English Colony there seated by Sir Richard Greenvile Knight In the yeere 1585. Which Remained Vnder the gouernement of twelue monethes, At the speciall charge and direction of the Honorable Sir WALTER RALEIGH Knight lord Warden of the Stanneries. Who therein hath beene fauoured and authorized by her MAIESTIE and her letters patents.
This foure booke is made in English.
By Thomas Hariot seruant to the aboue named Sir WALTER, a member of the Colony, and there imployed in discouering.
CVM GRATIA ET PRIVILEGIO CAES. MAIS SPECIAE
FRANCOFORTI AD MOENVM
TYPIS IOANNIS WECHELI, SVMTIBVS VERO THEODORI DE BRY. ANNO CIↃ IↃ XC.
VENALES REPERIVNTVR IN OFFICINA SIGISMVNDI FEIRABENDI

TITLE-PAGE OF HARIOT S "VIRGINIA"

The next day there came unto us divers boates, and in one of them the Kings brother, accompanied with fortie or fiftie men, very handsome and goodly people, and in their behaviour as mannerly and civill as any of Europe. His name was Granganimeo, and the king is called Wingina, the countrey Wingandacoa, and now by her Majestie Virginia. The manner of his comming was in this sort: hee left his boates altogether as the first man did a little from the shippes by the shore, and came along to the place over against the shipes, followed with fortie men. When he came to the place, his servants spread a long matte upon the ground, on which he sate downe, and at the other ende of the matte foure others of his companie did the like, the rest of his men stood round about him, somewhat a farre off: when we came to the shore to him with our weapons, hee never mooved from his place, nor any of the other foure, nor never mistrusted any harme to be offered from us, but sitting still he beckoned us to come and sit by him, which we performed: and being set hee made all signes of joy and welcome, striking on his head and his breast and afterwardes on ours to shew wee were all one, smiling and making shewe the best he could of al love, and familiaritie. After hee had made a long speech unto us, wee presented him with divers things, which hee received very joyfully, and thankefully. None of the company, durst speake one worde all the time: only the foure which were at the other ende, spake one in the others eare very softly.

The King is greatly obeyed, and his brothers and children reverenced: the King himself in person was at our being there, sore wounded in a fight which hee had with the King of the next countrey, called Wingina, and was shot in two places through the body, and once cleane through the thigh, but yet he recovered: by reason whereof and for that hee lay at the chief towne of the countrey, being six dayes journey off, we saw him not at all.

After we had presented this his brother with such things as we thought he liked, wee likewise gave somewhat to the other that sat with him on the matte: but



NAVIGATION MAP OF PORCACCHI, 1572

presently he arose and tooke all from them and put it into his owne basket, making signes and tokens, that all things ought to bee delivered unto him, and the rest were but his servants, and followers. A day or

two after this, we fell to trading with them, exchanging some things that we had, for Chamoys, Buffe, and Deere skinnes: when we shewed him all our packet of merchandize, of all things that he sawe, a bright tinne dish most pleased him, which hee presently tooke up and clapt it before his breast, and after made a hole in the brimme thereof and hung it about his necke, making signes that it would defende him against his enemies arrowes: for those people maintaine a deadly and terrible warre, with the people and King adjoyning. We exchanged our tinne dish for twentie skinnes, woorth twentie Crownes, or twentie Nobles: and a copper kettle for fiftie skins woorth fifty Crownes. They offered us good exchange for our hatchets, and axes, and for knives, and would have given any thing for swordes: but we would not depart with any. After two or three dayes the Kings brother came aboord the shippes, and dranke wine, and eat of our meat and of our bread, and liked exceedingly thereof: and after a few days overpassed, he brought his wife with him to the ships, his daughter and two or three children: his wife was very well favoured, of meane stature, and very bashfull: shee had on her backe a long cloake of leather, with the furre side next to her body, and before her a piece of the same: about her forehead she had a bande of white Corall, and so had her husband many times: in her eares shee had bracelets of pearles hanging down to her middle, whereof wee delivered your worship a little bracelet, and those were of the bignes of good pease. The rest of her women of the better sort had pendants of copper hanging in either eare, and some of the children of the Kings brother and other noble men, have five or sixe in either eare: he himselfe had upon his head a broad plate of golde, or copper, for being unpolished we knew not what mettal it should be, neither would he by any means suffer us to take it off his head, but feeling it, it would bow very easily. His apparell was as his wives,

onely the women weare their haire long on both sides, and the men but on one. They are of colour yellowish, and their haire black for the most part, and yet we saw children that had very fine auburne and chestnut coloured haire.

After that these women had bene there, there came downe from all parts great store of people, bringing with them leather, corall, divers kindes of dies, very excellent, and exchanged with us: but when Granganimeo the kings brother was present, none durst trade but himselfe: except such as weare red pieces of copper on their heads like himselfe: for that is the difference betweene the noble men, and the gouvernours of countreys, and the meaner sort. And we both noted there, and you have understood since by these men, which we brought home, that no people in the worlde cary more respect to their King, Nobilitie, and Governours, than these do. The Kings brothers wife, when she came to us, as she did many times, was followed with forty or fifty women alwayes: and when she came into the shippe, she left them all on land, saving her two daughters, her nurse and one or two more. The kings brother alwayes kept this order, as many boates as he would come withall to the shippes, so many fires would he make on the shore a farre off, to the end we might understand with what strength and company he approached. Their boates are made of one tree, either of Pine or of Pitch trees: a wood not commonly knowen to our people, nor found growing in England. They have no edge-tooles to make them withall: if they have any they are very fewe, and those it seemes they had twentie yeres since, which, as those two men declared, was out of a wrake which happened upon their coast of some Christian ship, being beaten that way by some storme and outragious weather, whereof none of the people were saved, but only the ship, or some part of her being cast upon the sand, out of whose sides they

drew the nayles and the spikes, and with those they made their best instruments. The manner of making their boates is thus: they burne down some great tree, or take such as are winde fallen, and putting gumme and rosen upon one side thereof, they set fire into it, and when it hath burnt it hollow, they cut out the coale with their shels, and ever where they would burne it deeper or wider they lay on gummes, which burne away the timber, and by this means they fashion very fine boates, and such as will transport twentie men. Their oars are like scoopes, and many times they set with long poles, as the depth serveth.

The Kings brother had great liking of our armour, a sword, and divers other things which we had: and offered to lay a great boxe of pearls in gage for them: but we refused it for this time, because we would not make them knowe, that we esteemed thereof, untill we had understoode in what places of the countrey the pearle grew: which now your Worshippe doeth very well understand.

He was very just of his promise: for many times we delivered him merchandize upon his worde, but ever he came within the day and performed his promise. He sent us every day a brase or two of fat Bucks, Conies, Hares, Fish and best of the world. He sent us divers kindes of fruites, Melons, Walnuts, Cucumbers, Gourdes, Pease, and divers rootes, and fruites very excellent good, and of their Countrey corne, which is very white, faire and well tasted, and groweth three times in five moneths: in May they sow, in July they reape; in June they sow, in August they reape; in July they sow, in September they reape: onely they caste the corne into the ground, breaking a little of the soft tuft with a wooden mattock, or pickaxe; our selves prooved the soile, and put some of our Pease in the ground, and in tenne dayes they were of fourteen ynches high: they have also Beanes very faire of divers colours and wonderful plentie: some

growing naturally, and some in their gardens, and so have they both wheat and oates.

The soile is the most plentifull, sweete, fruitfull and wholesome of all the worlde: there are above fourteene severall sweete smelling timber trees, and the most

VIRGINIA INDIANS FROM CAMPANIUS HOLM, NEW SWEDEN, 1702

part of their underwoods are Bayes and such like: they have those Okes that we have, but farre greater and better. After they had bene divers times aboord our shippes, my selfe, and seven more went twentie miles into the River, that runneth towarde the Citie of Skicoak, which River they call Occam: and the evening following wee came to an Island which they call Roanoak, distant from the harbour by which we entred, seven leagues: and at the North end thereof was a village of nine houses, built of Cedar, and fortified round about with sharpe trees, to keepe out their enemies, and the entrance into it made like a turnepike very artificially; when wee came towardes it, standing neere unto the waters side, the wife of Granganimo the Kings brother, came running out to meete us very cheerfully and friendly, her husband was not then in the village; some of her people shee commanded to drawe our boate on shore for the beating of the billoe: others she appointed to carry us on their backes to the dry ground, and others to bring our oares into the house for feare of stealing. When we were come into the utter roome, having five roomes in her house, she caused us to sit downe by a great fire, and after tooke off our clothes and washed them, and dryed them againe: some of the women plucked off our stockings and washed them, some washed our feete in warme water, and she herselfe tooke great paines to see all things ordered in the best maner shee could, making great haste to dresse some meate for us to eate.

After we had thus dryed ourselves, she brought us into the inner roome, where shee set on the boord standing along the house, some wheate like furmentie, sodden Venison, and roasted, fish sodden, boyled and roasted, Melons rawe, and sodden, rootes of divers kindes and divers fruites: their drinke is commonly water, but while the grape lasteth, they drinke wine, and for want of caskes to keepe it, all the yere after they drink water,

but it is sodden with Ginger in it and blacke Sinamon, and sometimes Sassaphras, and divers other wholesome and medicinable hearbes and trees. We were entertained with all love and kindnesse, and with much bountie, after their maner, as they could possibly devise. We found the people most gentle, loving and faithfull, voide of all guile and treason, and such as live after the manner of the golden age. The people onely care howe to defend themselves from the cold in their short winter, and to feed themselves with such meat as the soile affoordeth: there meat is very well sodden and they make broth very sweet and savorie: their vessels are earthen pots, very large, white and sweete, their dishes are wooden platters of sweet timber: within the place where they feede was their lodging, and within that their Idoll, which they worship, of whome they speake incredible things. While we were at meate, there came in at the gates two or three men with their bowes and arrowes from hunting, whom when wee espied, we beganne to looke one towardes another, and offered to reach our weapons: but as soone as shee espied our mistrust, shee was very much mooved, and caused some of her men to runne out, and take away their bowes and arrowes and breake them, and withall beate the poore fellowes out of the gate againe. When we departed in the evening and would not tary all night she was very sorry, and gave us into our boates our supper halfe dressed, pottes and all, and brought us to our boate side, in which wee lay all night, remooving the same a prettie distance from the shoare: shee perceiving our jealousie, was much grieved, and sent divers men and thirtie women, to sit all night on the banke side by us, and sent us into our boates five mattes to cover us from the raine, using very many wordes, to entreate us to rest in their houses: but because wee were fewe men, and if wee had miscarried, the voyage had bene in very great danger, wee durst not adventure any

thing, although there was no cause of doubt: for a more kinde and loving people there can not be found in the worlde, as farre as we have hitherto had triall.

Beyond this Island there is the maine lande, and

MAP OF ANCIENT FLORIDA, FROM WYTFLIET

over against this Island falleth into this spacious water the great river called Occam by the inhabitants, on which standeth a towne called Pomeiock, & sixe days journey from the same is situate their greatest citie, called Skicoak, which this people affirme to be very great: but the Savages were never at it, only they speake

of it by the report of their fathers and other men, whom they have heard affirme it to bee above one houres journey about.

Into this river falleth another great river, called Cipo, in which there is found great store of Muskles in which there are pearls: likewise there descendeth into this Occam, another river, called Nomopana, on the one side whereof standeth a great towne called Chawanook, and the Lord of that towne and countrey is called Pooneno: this Pooneno is not subject to the King of Wingandacoa, but is a free Lord: beyond this country is there another king, whom they cal Menatonon, and these three kings are in league with each other. Towards the Southwest, foure dayes journey is situate a towne called Sequotan, which is the Southernmost towne of Wingandacoa, neere unto which, sixe and twentie yeres past there was a ship cast away, whereof some of the people were saved, and those were white people whom the countrey people preserved.

And after ten days remaining in an out Island unhabited, called Wocokon, they with the help of some of the dwellers of Sequotan fastened two boates of the countrey together & made mastes unto them and sailes of their shirtes, and having taken into them such victuals as the countrey yeelded, they departed after they had remained in this out Island 3 weekes: but shortly after it seemed they were cast away, for the boates were found upon the coast cast a land in another Island adjoyning: other than these, there was never any people apparelled, or white of colour, either seene or heard of amongst these people, and these aforesaid were seene onely of the inhabitantes of Secotan, which appeared to be very true, for they wondred marvelously when we were amongst them at the whiteness of our skins, ever coveting to touch our breasts, and to view the same. Besides they had our ships in marvelous admiration, & all things els were so strange unto them, as it appeared that none of them

had ever seene the like. When we discharged any piece, were it but an hargubuz, they would tremble thereat for very feare and for the strangenesse of the same: for the weapons which themselves use are bowes and arrowes: the arrowes are but of small canes, headed with a sharpe shell or tooth of a fish sufficient ynough to kill a naked man. Their swordes be of wood hardened: likewise they use wooden breastplates for their defence. They have beside a kinde of club, in the end whereof they fasten the sharpe horns of a stagge, or other beast. When they goe to warres they cary about with them their idol, of whom they aske counsel, as the Romans were woont of the Oracle of Apollo. They sing songs as they march towardes the battell in stead of drummes and trumpets: their warres are very cruell and bloody, by reason whereof, and of their civill dissentions which have happened of late yeeres amongst them, the people are marvelously wasted, and in some places the countrey left desolate.

Adjoyning to this countrey aforesaid called Secotan beginneth a countrey called Pomouik, belonging to another king whom they call Piamacum, and this king is in league with the next king adjoyning towards the setting of the Sunne, and the countrey Newsiok, situate upon a goodly river called Neus: these kings have mortall warre with Wingina king of Wingandacoa: but about two yeres past there was a peace made betweene the King Piemacum, and the Lord of Secotan, as these men which we have brought with us to England, have given us to understand: but there remaineth a mortall malice in the Secotanes, for many injuries & slaughters done upon them by this Piemacum. They invited divers men, and thirtie women of the best of his countrey to their towne to a feast: and when they were altogether merry, & praying before their Idoll, which is nothing els but a meer illusion of the devill, the captaine or Lord of the town came suddenly upon them, and

slewe them every one, reserving the women and children: and these two have oftentimes since perswaded us to surprise Piemacum in his towne, having promised and assured us, that there will be found in it great store of commodities. But whether their perswasion be to the ende they may be revenged of their enemies, or for the love they beare to us, we leave that to the tryall hereafter.

Beyond this Island called Roanoak, are maine Islands, very plentifull of fruits and other naturall increases, together with many townes, and villages, along the side of the continent, some bounding upon the Islands, and some stretching up further into the land.

When we first had sight of this countrey, some thought the first land we saw to bee the continent; but after we entred into the Haven, we saw before us another mighty long Sea: for there lyeth along the coast a tracte of Islands, two hundreth miles in length, adjoyning to the Ocean sea, and betweene the Islands, two or three entrances: when you are entred betweene them, these Islands being very narrow for the most part, as in most places sixe miles broad, in some places lesse, in few more, then there appeareth another great sea, containing in bredth in some places, forty, and in some fifty, in some twenty miles over, before you come unto the continent: and in this inclosed Sea there are above an hundreth Islands of divers bignesses, whereof one is sixteene miles long, at which we were, finding it a most pleasant and fertile ground; replenished with goodly Cedars, and divers other sweete woods, full of Corrants, of flaxe, and many other notable commodities, which we at that time had no leisure to view. Besides this island there are many, as I have sayd, some of two, or three, or foure, or five miles, some more, some lesse, most beautifull and pleasant to behold, replenished with Deere, Conies, Hares and divers beasts, and about them the goodliest and best fish in the world, and in greatest abundance.

Thus, Sir, we have acquainted you with the particulars of our discovery made this present voyage, as farre foorth as the shortnesse of the time we there continued would affoord us to take viewe of: and so contenting our selves with this service at this time, which wee hope here after to inlarge, as occasion and assistance shalbe given, we resolved to leave the countrey, and to apply ourselves to returne for England, which we did accordingly, and arrived safely in the West of England about the middest of September.

And whereas wee have above certified you of the countrey taken in possession by us to her Majesties use, and so to yours by her Majesties grant, wee thought good for the better assurance thereof to record some of the particular Gentlemen & men of accompt, who then were present, as witnesses of the same, that thereby all occasion of cavill to the title of the countrey, in her Majesties behalfe may be prevented, which otherwise, such as like not the action may use and pretend, whose names are:

Master PHILIP AMADAS, } *Captaines.*
Master ARTHUR BARLOW, }

William Greenvile, John Wood, James Browewich, Henry Greene, Benjamin Wood, Simon Ferdinando, Nicholas Petman, John Hewes, *of the companie.*

We brought home also two of the Savages, being lustie men, whose names were Wanchese and Manteo.

The Settlement of Jamestown, 1607

Selection from an extract in Captain John Smith's "Generall Historie of Virginia, New England, and the Summer Isles," London, 1624; from the modernized English reprint in "Old South Leaflet," No. 167. (See page 37.)

It might well be thought, a Countrie so faire (as *Virginia* is) and a people so tractable, would long ere this haue beene quietly possessed, to the satisfaction of the adventurers, and the eternizing of the memory of those that effected it. But because all the world doe see a defailement; this following Treatise shall giue satisfaction to all indifferent Readers, how the businesse hath bin carried: where no doubt they will easily vnderstand and answer to their question, how it came to passe there was no better speed and successe in those proceedings.

Captaine *Bartholomew Gosnoll*, one of the first movers of this plantation, having many yeares solicited many of his friends, but found small assistants; at last prevailed with some Gentlemen, as Captaine *Iohn Smith*, Master *Edward-maria Wingfield*, Master *Robert Hunt*, and divers others, who depended a yeare vpon his proiects, but nothing could be effected, till by their great charge and industrie, it came to be apprehended by certaine of the Nobilitie, Gentry, and Marchants, so that his Maiestie by his letters patents, gaue commission for establishing Councels, to direct here; and to governe, and to execute there. To effect this, was

spent another yeare, and by that, three ships were provided, one of 100 Tuns, another of 40. and a Pinnace of 20. The transportation of the company was committed to Captaine *Christopher Newport*, a Marriner well practised for the Westerne parts of *America*. But their orders for government were put in a box, not to be opened, nor the governours knowne vntill they arrived in *Virginia*.

MAP OF JAMESTOWN SETTLEMENT

On the 19 of December, 1606, we set sayle from Blackwall, but by vnprosperous winds, were kept six weeks in the sight of *England*, all which time, Master *Hunt* our Preacher, was so weake and sicke, that few expected his recovery. Yet although he were but twentie myles from his habitation (the time we were in the Downes) and notwithstanding the stormy weather, nor the scandalous imputations (of some few, little better then Atheists, of the greatest ranke amongst vs) suggested against him, all this could never force from him so much as a seeming desire to leaue the busines, but preferred the service of God, in so good a voyage,

before any affection to contest with his godlesse foes whose disastrous designes (could they haue prevailed) had even then overthrowne the businesse, so many discontents did then arise, had he not with the water of patience, and his godly exhortations (but chiefly by his true devoted examples) quenched those flames of envie, and dissention.

We watered at the Canaries, we traded with the Salvages at *Dominica;* three weekes we spent in refreshing our selues amongst these west-India Isles; in *Gwardalupa* we found a bath so hot, as in it we boyled Porck as well as over the fire. And at a little Isle called *Monica*, we tooke from the bushes with our hands, neare two hogsheads full of Birds in three or foure houres. In *Mevis*, *Mona*, and the Virgin Isles, we spent some time; where, with a lothsome beast like a Crocodil, called a Gwayn, Tortoises, Pellicans, Parrots, and fishes, we daily feasted.

Gone from thence in search of *Virginia*, the company was not a little discomforted, seeing the Marriners had 2 dayes passed their reckoning and found no land; so that Captaine *Ratliffe* (Captaine of the Pinnace) rather desired to beare vp the helme to returne for *England*, then make further search. But God the guider of all good actions, forcing them by an extreame storme to hull all night, did driue them by his providence to their desired Port, beyond all their expectations; for never any of them had seene that coast.

The first land they made they called *Cape Henry;* where thirtie of them recreating themselues on shore, were assaulted by fiue Salvages, who hurt two of the English very dangerously.

That night was the box opened, and the orders read, in which *Bartholomew Gosnoll*, *Iohn Smith*, *Edward Wingfield*, *Christopher Newport*, *Iohn Ratliffe*, *Iohn Martin*, and *George Kendall*, were named to be the Councell, and to choose a President amongst them for

a yeare, who with the Councell should governe. Matters of moment were to be examined by a Iury, but determined by the maior part of the Councell, in which the President had two voyces.

King Powhatan cõmands C. Smith to be slaine, his
daughter Pokahontas begges his life his thankfullnes
and how he subiected 39 of their kings. reade y history.

POWHATAN COMMANDS SMITH TO BE SLAIN

Vntill the 13 of May they sought a place to plant in; then the Councell was sworne, Master *Wingfield* was chosen President, and an Oration made, why Captaine *Smith* was not admitted of the Councell as the rest.

Now falleth every man to worke, the Councell con-

triue the Fort, the rest cut downe trees to make place to pitch their tents; some provide clapbord to relade the ships. some make gardens, some nets, &c. The Salvages often visited vs kindly. The Presidents overweening iealousie would admit no exercise at armes, or fortification but the boughs of trees cast together in the forme of a halfe moone by the extraordinary paines and diligence of Captaine *Kendall.*

Newport, Smith, and twentie others, were sent to discover the head of the river: by divers small habitations they passed, in six dayes they arrived at a Towne called *Powhatan,* consisting of some twelue houses, pleasantly seated on a hill; before it three fertile Iles, about it many of their cornefields, the place is very pleasant, and strong by nature, of this place the Prince is called *Powhatan,* and his people *Powhatans.* To this place the river is navigable: but higher within a myle, by reason of the Rockes and Isles, there is not passage for a small Boat, this they call the Falles. The people in all parts kindly intreated them, till being returned within twentie myles of *Iames* towne, they gaue iust cause of iealousie: but had God not blessed the discoverers otherwise than those at the Fort, there had then beene an end of that plantation; for at the Fort, where they arrived the next day, they found 17 men hurt, and a boy slaine by the Salvages, and had it not chanced a crosse barre shot from the Ships strooke downe a bough from a tree amongst them, that caused them to retire, our men had all beene slaine, being securely all at worke, and their armes in dry fats.

Herevpon the President was contented the Fort should be pallisadoed, the Ordnance mounted, his men armed and exercised: for many were the assaults, and ambuscadoes of the Salvages, and our men by their disorderly stragling were often hurt, when the Salvages by the nimblenesse of their heels well escaped.

What toyle we had, with so small a power to guard

our workemen adayes, watch all night, resist our enemies, and effect our businesse, to relade the ships, cut downe trees, and prepare the ground to plant our Corne, &c, I referre to the Readers consideration.

Six weekes being spent in this manner Captaine *Newport* (who was hired only for our transportation) was to returne with the ships.

Now Captaine *Smith*, who all this time from their departure from the Canaries was restrained as a prisoner vpon the scandalous suggestions of some of the chiefs (envying his repute) who fained he intended to vsurpe the government, murther the Councell, and make himselfe King, that his confederats were dispersed in all three ships, and that divers of his confederats that revealed it, would affirme it; for this he was committed as a prisoner.

Thirteene weekes he remained thus suspected, and by that time the ships should returne they pretended out of their commisserations, to referre him to the Councell in *England* to receiue a check, rather then by particulating his designes make him so odious to the world, as to touch his life, or vtterly overthrow his reputation. But he so much scorned their charitie, and publikely defied the vttermost of their crueltie; he wisely prevented their policies, though he could not suppresse their envies; yet so well he demeaned himselfe in this businesse, as all the company did see his innocency, and his adversaries malice, and those suborned to accuse him, accused his accusers of subornation; many vntruthes were alledged against him; but being so apparently disproved, begat a generall hatred in the hearts of the company against such vniust Commanders, that the President was adiudged to giue him 200*l.*: so that all he had was seized vpon, in part of satisfaction, which *Smith* presently returned to the Store for the generall vse of the *Colony*.

Many were the mischiefes that daily sprung from

their ignorant (yet ambitious) spirits; but the good Doctrine and exhortation of our Preacher Master *Hunt* reconciled them, and caused Captaine *Smith* to be admitted of the Councel.

The next day all receiued the Communion, the day following the Salvages voluntarily desired peace, and Captaine *Newport* returned for *England* with newes; leaving in *Virginia* 100. the 15 of Iune 1607.

First Charter of Virginia, 1606

This charter, which Bancroft characterizes as "the first written charter of a permanent American colony," was granted to the Virginia Company, which founded Jamestown in 1607. Text from Stith's "History of Virginia," Sabin Reprint of 1865, Appendix. (See page 38.)

I. JAMES, by the Grace of God, King of *England*, *Scotland*, *France* and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, &c. Whereas our loving and well-disposed Subjects, Sir *Thomas Gates*, and Sir *George Somers*, Knights, *Richard Hackluit*, Prebendary of *Westminster*, and *Edward-Maria Wingfield*, *Thomas Hanham*, and *Ralegh Gilbert*, Esqrs. *William Parker*, and *George Popham*, Gentlemen, and divers others of our loving Subjects, have been humble Suitors unto us, that We would vouchsafe unto them our Licence, to make Habitation, Plantation, and to deduce a Colony of sundry of our People into that Part of *America*, commonly called *Virginia*, and other Parts and Territories in *America*, either appertaining unto us, or which are not now actually possessed by any *Christian* Prince or People, situate, lying, and being all along the Sea Coasts, between four and thirty Degrees of *Northerly* Latitude from the Equinoctial Line, and five and forty Degrees of the same Latitude, and in the main Land between the same four and thirty and five and forty Degrees, and the Islands thereunto adjacent, or within one hundred Miles of the Coasts thereof:

II. And to that End, and for the more speedy Ac-

THE INCONVENIENCIES

THAT HAVE HAPPENED TO SOME PERSONS WHICH HAVE TRANSPORTED THEMSELVES

from *England* to *Virginia*, vvithout prouisions necessary to sustaine themselues, hath *greatly hindred the Progresse of that noble Plantation: For preuention of the like disorders* hereafter, that no man suffer, either through ignorance or misinformation, it is thought requisite to publish this short declaration: wherein is contained a particular of such necessaries, as either private families or single persons shall haue cause to furnish themselues with, for their better support at their first landing in Virginia, whereby also greater numbers may receiue in part, direction how to prouide themselues.

Apparrell.

	li.	s.	d.
One Monmouth Cap	00	01	10
Three falling bands	—	01	03
Three shirts	—	07	06
One wathe coate	—	02	02
One suite of Canuase	—	07	06
One suite of Perse	—	10	00
One suite of Cloth	—	15	00
Three paire of Irish stockins	—	04	—
Foure paire of shooes	—	18	08
One paire of garters	—	00	10
One dozen of points	—	00	03
One paire of Canuase sheets	—	08	00.
Seuen ells of Canuase, to make a bed and boulster, to be filled in *Virginia*	—	08	00
One Rug for a bed 8. s. which with the bed seruing for two men, half is	—	04	00
Fiue ells coorse Canuase, to make a bed at Sea for two men, to be filled with straw, 10. s	—	05	00
One coorse Rug at Sea for two men, will cost 5. s. is for one	—	02	06
	04	00	00

Apparrell for one man, and is aboue the rate for more.

Victuals.

Eight bushels of Meale	02	00	00
Two bushels of Pease at 3. s.	—	06	00
Two bushels of Oatemeale 4. s. 6. d.	—	09	00
One gallon of Aquauitæ	—	02	06
One gallon of Oyle	—	03	06
Two gallons of Vineger 1. s.	—	02	00
	—	03	00

For a whole yeere for one man, and is for more in proportion for a shorter time.

Armes.

One Armour compleat, light	—	17	00
One long Peece fixt foot or five and a halfe, neere Musket bore	01	02	11
One sword	—	05	—
One belt	—	02	—
One bandaleere	—	01	06
Twenty pound of powder	—	18	00
Sixty pound of shot or lead. Pistoll and Goose shot	—	05	00
	03	09	06

For one man, but if he carry more armes it is to be done for that the Peeces and swords.

Tooles.

	li.	s.	d.
Fiue broad howes at 2. s. a piece	—	10	—
Fiue narrow howes at 12. d. a piece	—	06	08
Two broad Axes at 3. s. 8. d. a piece	—	07	04
Fiue felling Axes at 18. d. a piece	—	07	06
Two Hecle hand sawes at 16. d. a piece	—	02	08
Two two hand sawes at 5. s. a piece	—	10	—
One whip saw, set and filed with box, file, and wrest	—	10	—
Two hammers 12. d. a piece	—	02	00
Three shouels 18. d. a piece	—	04	06
Two spades at 18. d. a piece	—	03	—
Two augers 6. d. a piece	—	01	00
Sixe chissels 6. d. a piece	—	03	00
Two percers stocked 4. d. a piece	—	00	08
Three gimlets 2. d. a piece	—	00	06
Two hatchers 21. d. a piece	—	03	06
Two froues to cleaue pale 18. d.	—	03	00
Two hand bills 20. a piece	—	03	04
One grindlestone 4. s.	—	04	00
Nailes of all sorts to the value of	02	00	—
Two Pickaxes	—	03	—
	06	02	08

For a family of 6. persons and so after the rate for more.

Houshold implements.

One Iron Pot	00	07	—
One kettle	—	06	—
One large frying pan	—	02	06
One gridiron	—	01	06
Two skillets	—	03	—
One spit	—	02	—
Platters, dishes, spoones of wood	—	04	—
	—	01	08
	—	08	08
For Sugar, Spice, and fruit, and at Sea for 6. men	00	12	06
So the full charge of Apparrell, Victuall, Armes, Tooles, and houshold stuffe, and after this rate for each person, will amount vnto about the summe of	13	10	—
The passage of each man is	06	00	—
The fraight of these prouisions for a man, will bee about halfe a Ton, which is	01	10	—
So the whole charge will amount to about	20	00	00

For a family of 6. persons, and so for more or lesse after the rate.

Nets, hookes, lines, and a seine must be added, if the number of people be great, as also some hens.

And thus is the vsuall proportion that the Virginia *Company doe bestow vpon their Tenants which they send.*

Whosoeuer transports himselfe or any other at his owne charge vnto *Virginia*, shall for each person so transported before Midsummer 1615. haue to him and his heires for euer fifty Acres of Land vpon a first, and fifty Acres vpon a second diuision.

Imprinted at London by FELIX KYNGSTON. 1622.

FACSIMILE OF "VIRGINIA INCONVENIENCES" BROADSIDE

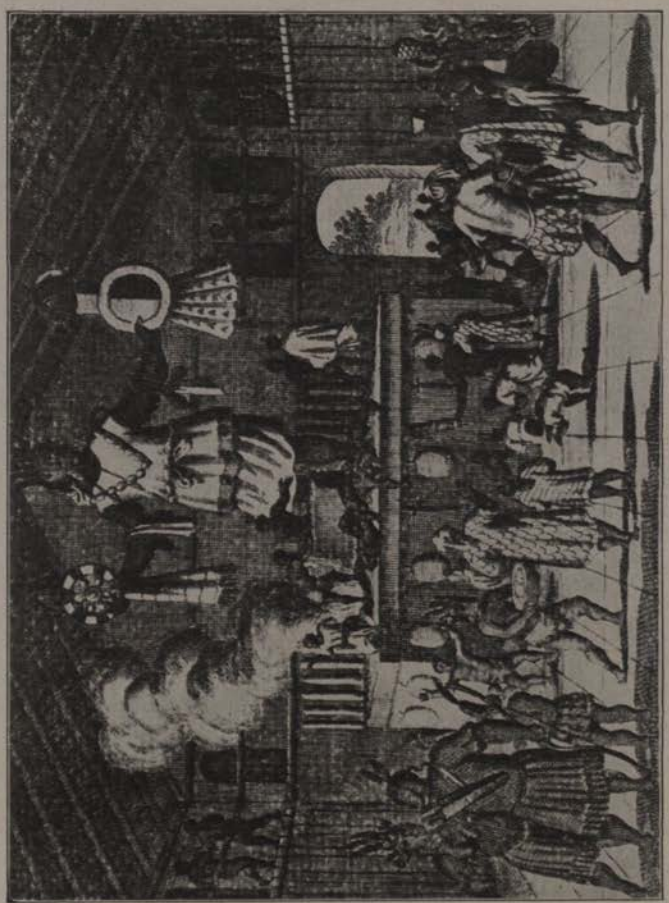
complishment of their said intended Plantation and Habitation there, are desirous to divide themselves into two several Colonies and Companies; The one consisting of certain Knights, Gentlemen, Merchants, and other Adventurers, of our City of *London* and elsewhere, which are, and from time to time shall be, joined unto them, which do desire to begin their Plantation and Habitation in some fit and convenient Place, between four and thirty and one and forty Degrees of the said Latitude, along the Coasts of *Virginia* and Coasts of *America* aforesaid; And the other consisting of sundry Knights, Gentlemen, Merchants, and other Adventurers, of our Cities of *Bristol* and *Exeter*, and of our Town of Plimouth, and of other Places, which do join themselves unto that Colony, which do desire to begin their Plantation and Habitation in some fit and convenient Place between eight and thirty Degrees and five and forty Degrees of the said Latitude, all alongst the said Coast of *Virginia* and *America*, as that Coast lyeth:

III. We, greatly commending, and graciously accepting of, their Desires for the Furtherance of so noble a work, which may, by the Providence of Almighty God, hereafter tend to the Glory of his Divine Majesty, in propagating of *Christian* Religion to such People, as yet live in Darkness and miserable Ignorance of the true Knowledge and Worship of God, and may in time bring the Infidels and Savages, living in those Parts, to human Civility, and to a settled and quiet Government; DO, by these our Letters Patents, graciously accept of, and agree to, their humble and well-intented Desires:

IV. And do therefore, for Us, our Heirs, and Successors, GRANT and agree, that the said Sir *Thomas Gates*, Sir *George Somers*, *Richard Hackluit*, and *Edward-Maria Wingfield*, Adventurers of and for our City of *London*, and all such others, as are, or shall be, joined unto them of that Colony, shall be called the *first* Colony; And they shall and may begin their said first

Plantation and Habitation, at any Place, upon the said Coast of *Virginia* or *America*, where they shall think fit and convenient, between the said four and thirty and one and forty Degrees of the said Latitude; And that they shall have all the Lands, Woods, Soil, Grounds, Havens, Ports, Rivers, Mines, Minerals, Marshes, Waters, Fishings, Commodities, and Hereditaments, whatsoever, from the said first Seat of their Plantation and Habitation by the Space of fifty Miles of *English* Statute Measure, all along the said Coast of *Virginia* and *America*, towards the *West* and *Southwest*, as the Coast lyeth, with all the Islands within one hundred Miles directly over against the same Sea Coast; And also all the Lands, Soil, Grounds, Havens, Ports, Mines, Rivers, Minerals, Woods, Waters, Marshes, Fishings, Commodities, and Hereditaments, whatsoever, from the said Place of their first Plantation and Habitation for the space of fifty like *English* Miles, all alongst the said Coast of *Virginia* and *America*, towards the *East* and *Northeast*, or towards the *North*, as the Coast lyeth, together with all the Islands within one hundred Miles, directly over against the said Sea Coast; And also all the Lands, Woods, Soil, Grounds, Havens, Ports, Rivers, Mines, Minerals, Marshes, Waters, Fishings, Commodities, and Hereditaments, whatsoever, from the same fifty Miles every way on the Sea Coast, directly into the main Land by the Space of one hundred like *English* Miles; And shall and may inhabit and remain there; and shall and may also build and fortify within any the same, for their better Safeguard and Defence, according to their best Discretion, and the Discretion of the Council of that Colony; And that no other of our Subjects shall be permitted, or suffered, to plant or inhabit behind, or on the Backside of them, towards the main Land, without the Express Licence or Consent of the Council of that Colony, thereunto in Writing first had and obtained.

V. And we do likewise, for Us, our Heirs, and Successors, by these Presents, Grant and agree, that the said *Thomas Hanham* and *Ralegh Gilbert*, *William Par-*



INTERIOR OF A VIRGINIA INDIAN HOUSE OF WORSHIP
(From Montanus's "The New World")

ker, and *George Popham*, and all others of the Town of Plimouth in the County of *Devon*, or elsewhere, which are, or shall be, joined unto them of that Colony, shall be called the *second* Colony; And that they shall and

may begin their said Plantation and Seat of their first Abode and Habitation, at any Place upon the said Coast of *Virginia* and *America*, where they shall think fit and convenient, between eight and thirty Degrees of the said Latitude, and five and forty Degrees of the same Latitude; And that they shall have all the Lands, Soils, Grounds, Havens, Ports, Rivers, Mines, Minerals, Woods, Marshes, Waters, Fishings, Commodities, and Hereditaments, whatsoever, from the first Seat of their Plantation and Habitation by the Space of fifty like *English* Miles, as is aforesaid, all alongst the said Coast of *Virginia* and *America*, towards the *West* and *South-west*, or towards the *South*, as the Coast lyeth and all the Islands within one hundred Miles, directly over against the said Sea Coast; And also all the Lands, Soils, Grounds, Havens, Ports, Rivers, Mines, Minerals, Woods, Marshes, Waters, Fishings, Commodities, and Hereditaments, whatsoever, from the said Place of their first Plantation and Habitation for the Space of fifty like Miles, all alongst the Coast of *Virginia* and *America*, towards the *East* and *Northeast*, or towards the *North*, as the Coast lyeth, and all the Islands also within one hundred Miles directly over against the same Sea Coast; And also all the Lands, Soils, Grounds, Havens, Ports, Rivers, Woods, Mines, Minerals, Marshes, Waters, Fishings, Commodities, and Hereditaments, whatsoever, from the same fifty Miles every way on the Sea Coast, directly into the main Land, by the Space of one hundred like *English* Miles; And shall and may inhabit and remain there; and shall and may also build and fortify within any the same for their better Safeguard, according to their best Discretion, and the Discretion of the Council of that Colony; And that none of our Subjects shall be permitted, or suffered, to plant or inhabit behind, or on the back of them, towards the main Land, without the express Licence of the Council of that Colony, in Writing thereunto first had and obtained.

VI. Provided always, and our Will and Pleasure herein is, that the Plantation and Habitation of such of the said Colonies, as shall last plant themselves, as aforesaid, shall not be made within one hundred like *English* Miles of the other of them, that first began to make their Plantation, as aforesaid.

VII. And we do also ordain, establish, and agree, for Us, our Heirs, and Successors, that each of the said Colonies shall have a Council, which shall govern and order all Matters and Causes, which shall arise, grow, or happen, to or within the same several Colonies, according to such Laws, Ordinances, and Instructions, as shall be, in that behalf, given and signed with our Hand or Sign Manual, and pass under the Privy Seal of our Realm of *England*; Each of which Councils shall consist of thirteen Persons, to be ordained, made, and removed, from time to time, according as shall be directed, and comprised in the same instructions; And shall have a several Seal, for all Matters that shall pass or concern the same several Councils; Each of which Seals shall have the King's Arms engraven on the one Side thereof, and his Portraiture on the other; And that the Seal for the Council of the said first Colony shall have engraven round about, on the one Side, these Words; *Sigillum Regis Magnæ Britanniæ, Franciæ & Hiberniæ;* on the other Side this Inscription, round about; *Pro Concilio primæ Coloniæ Virginiæ.* And the Seal for the Council of the said second Colony shall also have engraven, round about the one side thereof, the aforesaid Words; *Sigillum Regis Magnæ Britanniæ, Franciæ & Hiberniæ;* and on the other Side; *Pro Concilio secundæ Coloniæ Virginiæ*:

VIII. And that also there shall be a Council established here in *England*, which shall, in like Manner, consist of thirteen Persons, to be for that Purpose, appointed by Us, our Heirs and Successors, which shall be called our *Council of Virginia;* And shall, from time

to time, have the superior Managing and Direction, only of and for all Matters, that shall or may concern the Government, as well as of the said several Colonies, as of and for any other Part or Place within the aforesaid Precincts of four and thirty and five and forty Degrees above mentioned; Which Council shall, in like manner, have a Seal, for Matters concerning the Council or Colonies, with the like arms and Portraiture, as aforesaid, with this Inscription, engraven round about on the one Side; *Sigillum Regis Magnæ Britanniæ, Franciæ & Hiberniæ;* and round about the other Side, *Pro Concilio Suo Virginiæ.*

IX. And moreover, we do GRANT and agree, for Us, our Heirs and Successors, that the said several Councils, of and for the said several Colonies, shall and lawfully may, by Virtue hereof, from time to time, without any Interruption of Us, our Heirs or Successors, give and take Order, to dig, mine, and search for all Manner of Mines of Gold, Silver, and Copper, as well within any part of their said several Colonies, as for the said main Lands on the Backside of the same Colonies; And to HAVE and enjoy the Gold, Silver, and Copper, to be gotten thereof, to the Use and Behoof of the same Colonies and the Plantations thereof; YIELDING therefore, to Us, our Heirs and Successors, the fifth Part only of all the same Gold and Silver, and the fifteenth Part of all the same Copper, so to be gotten or had, as is aforesaid, without any other Manner or Profit on Account, to be given or yielded to Us, our Heirs, or Successors, for or in Respect of the same:

X. And that they shall, or lawfully may, establish and cause to be made a Coin, to pass current there between the People of these several Colonies, for the more Ease of Traffick and Bargaining between and amongst them and the Natives there, of such Metal, and in such Manner and Form, as the said several Councils there shall limit and appoint.

XI. And we do likewise, for Us, our Heirs, and Successors, by these Presents, give full Power and Authority to the said *Thomas Gates*, Sir *George Somers*, *Richard Hackluit*, *Edward-Maria Wingfield*, *Thomas Hanham*, *Ralegh Gilbert*, *William Parker*, and *George Popham* and to every of them, and to the said several Companies, Plantations, and Colonies, that they, and every of them, shall and may, at all and every time and times hereafter, have, take, and lead in the said Voyage, and for and towards the said several Plantations and Colonies, and to travel thitherward, and to abide and inhabit there, in every the said Colonies and Plantations, such and so many of our Subjects, as shall willingly accompany them, or any of them, in the said Voyages and Plantations; With sufficient Shipping and Furniture of Armour, Weapons, Ordinary Powder, Victual, and all other things, necessary for the said Plantations, and for their Use and Defence there: PROVIDED always, that none of the said Persons be such, as shall hereafter be specially restrained by Us, our Heirs and Successors.

XII. Moreover, we do, by these Presents, for Us, our Heirs and Successors, GIVE AND GRANT licence unto the said Sir *Thomas Gates*, Sir *George Somers*, *Richard Hackluit*, *Edward-Maria Wingfield*, *Thomas Hanham*, *Ralegh Gilbert*, *William Parker*, and *George Popham*, and to every of the same said Colonies, that they, and every of them, shall and may, from time to time, and at all times for ever hereafter, for their several Defences, encounter, expulse, repel, and resist, as well by Sea as by Land, by all Ways and Means whatsoever, all and every such Person and Persons, as without the especial Licence of the said several Colonies and Plantations shall attempt to inhabit within the said several Precincts and Limits of the said several Colonies and Plantations, or any of them, or that shall enterprise or attempt, at any time hereafter, the Hurt, Detri-

ment, or Annoyance, of the said several Colonies and Plantations.

XIII. Giving and granting, by these Presents, unto the said Sir *Thomas Gates*, Sir *George Somers*, *Richard*

WHITE'S MAP OF OLD VIRGINIA FROM HARIOT'S "VIRGINIA," 1590

Hackluit, *Edward-Maria Wingfield*, and their Associates of the said first Colony, and unto the said *Thomas Hanham*, *Ralegh Gilbert*, *William Parker*, and *George Popham*, and their Associates of the said second Colony,

and to every of them, from time to time, and at all times for ever hereafter, Power and Authority to take and surprise, by all Ways and Means whatsoever, all and every Person and Persons, with their Ships, Vessels, Goods, and other Furniture, which shall be found trafficking, into any Harbour or Harbours, Creek or Creeks, or Place, within the Limits or Precincts of the said several Colonies and Plantations, not being of the same Colony, until such time, as they, being of any Realms or Dominions under our Obedience, shall pay, or agree to pay, to the Hands of the Treasurer of that Colony, within whose Limits and Precincts they shall so traffick, two and a half upon every Hundred, of any thing, so by them trafficked, bought, or sold; And being Strangers, and not Subjects under our obeyance, until they shall pay five upon every Hundred, of such Wares and Merchandise, as they shall traffick, buy, or sell, within the Precincts of the said several Colonies, wherein they shall so traffick, buy, or sell, as aforesaid. WHICH Sums of Money, or Benefit, as aforesaid, for and during the Space of one and twenty Years, next ensuing the Date hereof, shall be wholly emploied to the Use, Benefit, and Behoof of the said several Plantations, where such Traffick shall be made; And after the said one and twenty Years ended, the same shall be taken to the Use of Us, our Heirs, and Successors, by such Officers and Ministers, as by Us, our Heirs, and Successors, shall be thereunto assigned or appointed.

XIV. And we do further, by these Presents, for Us, our Heirs, and Successors, *Give and Grant* unto the said Sir *Thomas Gates*, Sir *George Somers*, *Richard Hackluit*, and *Edward-Maria Wingfield*, and to their Associates of the said first Colony and Plantation, and to the said *Thomas Hanham*, *Ralegh Gilbert*, *William Parker*, and *George Popham*, and their Associates of the said second Colony and Plantation, that they, and every of them, by their Deputies, Ministers, and Factors, may trans-

port the Goods, Chattels, Armour, Munition, and Furniture, needful to be used by them, for their said Apparel, Food, Defence, or otherwise in Respect of the said Plantations, out of our Realms of *England* and *Ireland*, and all other our Dominions, from time to time, for and during the Time of seven Years, next ensuing the Date hereof, for the better Relief of the said several Colonies and Plantations, without any Custom, Subsidy, or other Duty, unto Us, our Heirs, or Successors, to be yielded or paid for the same.

XV. Also we do, for Us, our Heirs, and Successors, DECLARE, by these Presents, that all and every the Persons, being our Subjects, which shall dwell and inhabit within every or any of the said several Colonies and Plantations, and every of their children, which shall happen to be born within any of the Limits and Precincts of the said several Colonies and Plantations, shall HAVE and enjoy all Liberties, Franchises, and Immunities, within any of our other Dominions, to all Intents and Purposes, as if they had been abiding and born, within this our Realm of *England*, or any other of our said Dominions.

XVI. Moreover, our gracious Will and Pleasure is, and we do by these Presents, for Us, our Heirs, and Successors, declare and set forth, that if any Person or Persons, which shall be of any of the said Colonies and Plantations, or any other, which shall traffick to the said Colonies and Plantations, or any of them, shall, at any time or times hereafter, transport any Wares, Merchandises, or Commodities, out of any of our Dominions, with a Pretence to land, sell, or otherwise dispose of the same, within any the Limits and Precincts of any the said Colonies and Plantations, and yet, nevertheless, being at Sea, or after he hath landed the same within any of the said Colonies and Plantations, shall carry the same into any other Foreign Country, with a Purpose there to sell or dispose of the same, without

the Licence of Us, our Heirs, and Successors, in that Behalf first had and obtained; That then, all the Goods and Chattels of such Person or Persons, so offending and transporting, together with the said Ship or Vessel, wherein such Transportation was made, shall be forfeited to Us, our Heirs, and Successors.

XVII. Provided always, and our Will and Pleasure is, and we do hereby declare to all *Christian* Kings, Princes, and States, that if any Person or Persons, which shall hereafter be of any of the said several Colonies and Plantations, or any other, by his, their or any of their Licence and Appointment, shall, at any time or times hereafter, rob or spoil by Sea or by Land, or do any Act of unjust and unlawful Hostility, to any of the Subjects of Us, our Heirs, and Successors, or any the Subjects of any King, Prince, Ruler, Governor, or State, being then in League or Amity with Us, our Heirs, or Successors, and that upon such Injury, or upon just Complaint of such Prince, Ruler, Governor, or State, or their Subjects, We, our Heirs, or Successors, shall make open Proclamation, within any of the Ports of our Realm of England, commodious for that Purpose, That the said Person or Persons, having committed any such Robbery or Spoil, shall, within the Term to be limited by such Proclamations, make full Restitution or Satisfaction of all such Injuries done, so as the said Princes, or others, so complaining, may hold themselves fully satisfied and contented; And that, if the said Person or Persons, having committed such Robbery or Spoil, shall not make, or cause to be made, Satisfaction accordingly, within such Time so to be limited, That then it shall be lawful to Us, our Heirs, and Successors, to put the said Person or Persons, having committed such Robbery or Spoil, and their Procurers, Abetters, or Comforters, out of our Allegiance and Protection; And that it shall be lawful and free, for all Princes and others, to pursue with Hostility the said Offenders, and every

of them, and their and every of their Procurers, Aiders, Abetters, and Comforters, in that Behalf.

XVIII. And finally, we do, for Us, our Heirs, and Successors, GRANT and agree, to and with the said Sir *Thomas Gates*, Sir *George Somers*, *Richard Hackluit*, and *Edward-Maria Wingfield*, and all others of the said first Colony, that We, our Heirs, and Successors, upon Petition in that Behalf to be made, shall, by Letters-patent under the Great Seal of *England*, GIVE and GRANT unto such Persons, their Heirs, and Assigns, as the Council of that Colony, or the most Part of them, shall, for that Purpose nominate and assign, all the Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments, which shall be within the Precincts limited for that Colony, as is aforesaid, TO BE HOLDEN of Us, our Heirs, and Successors, as of our Manor at *East-Greenwich* in the County of *Kent*, in free and common Soccage only, and not in Capite:

XIX. And do, in like Manner, Grant and Agree, for Us, our Heirs, and Successors, to and with the said *Thomas Hanham*, *Ralegh Gilbert*, *William Parker*, and *George Popham*, and all others of the said second Colony. That We, our Heirs, and Successors, upon Petition in that Behalf to be made, shall, by Letters-patent under the Great Seal of *England*, GIVE and GRANT unto such Persons, their Heirs, and Assigns, as the Council of that Colony, or the most Part of them, shall, for that Purpose, nominate and assign, all the Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments, which shall be within the Precincts limited for that Colony, as is aforesaid, TO BE HOLDEN of Us, our Heirs, and Successors, as of our Manor of *East-Greenwich* in the County of *Kent*, in free and common Soccage only, and not in Capite.

XX. All which Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments, so to be passed by the several Letters-patent, shall be sufficient Assurance from the said Patentees, so distributed and divided amongst the Undertakers for

the Plantation of the said several Colonies, and such as shall make their Plantations in either of the said several Colonies, in such Manner and Form, and for such Estates, as shall be ordered and set down by the Council of the said Colony, or the most Part of them, respectively, within which the same Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments, shall lye or be; Although express Mention of the true yearly Value or Certainty of the Premises, or any of them, or of any other Gifts, or Grants, by Us or any of our Progenitors or Predecessors, to the aforesaid Sir *Thomas Gates*, Knt. Sir *George Somers*, Knt. *Richard Hackluit*, *Edward-Maria Wingfield*, *Thomas Hanham*, *Ralegh Gilbert*, *William Parker*, and *George Popham*, or any of them, heretofore made, in these Presents, is not made; Or any Statute, Act, Ordinance, or Provision, Proclamation, or Restraint, to the contrary hereof had, made, ordained, or any other Thing, Cause, or Matter whatsoever, in any wise notwithstanding.

IN WITNESS whereof WE have caused these our Letters to be made Patents; Witness Ourself at *Westminster*, the tenth Day of April, in the fourth Year of our Reign of *England*, *France*, and *Ireland*, and of Scotland the nine and thirtieth.

Lukin

Per breve de privato Sigillo.

Discovery of the Hudson River, 1609

Extract from "The Third Voyage of Master Henry Hudson," by Robert Juet, who was at first Hudson's mate, and later his secretary, kept a copious daily journal, from which he compiled his history. (See page 72.)

The *first of September* [1609], faire weather, the wind variable betweene east and south; we steered away north north-west. At noone we found our height to bee 39 degrees, 3 minutes. Wee had soundings thirtie, twentie-seven, twentie-four, and twentie-two fathomes, as wee went to the northward. At sixe of the clocke wee had one and twentie fathoms. And all the third watch, till twelve of the clocke at mid-night, we had sounding one and twentie, two and twentie, eighteene, two and twentie, eighteen, and two and twentie fathoms, and went sixe leagues neere hand north north-west.

The *second*, in the morning, close weather, the winde at south in the morning; from twelve untill two of the clocke we steered north north-west, and had sounding one and twentie fathoms; and in running one glasse we had but sixteene fathoms, then seventeene, and so shoalder and shoalder untill it came to twelve fathoms. We saw a great fire, but could not see the land; then we came to ten fathoms, whereupon we brought our tackes aboord, and stood to the eastward east south-east, foure glasses. Then the sunne arose, and wee steered away north againe, and saw the land from the west by north to the north-west by north, all like broken islands, and our soundings were eleven and ten fathoms. Then wee

looft in for the shoare, and faire by the shoare we had seven fathoms. The course along the land we found to be north-east by north. From the land which we had

SAINT ETHELBURGA'S CHURCH, INTERIOR, BISHOPSGATE STREET, LONDON

In this church in 1607, April 19th, Hudson and his crew prepared for their voyage in search of a northwest passage to the Indies.

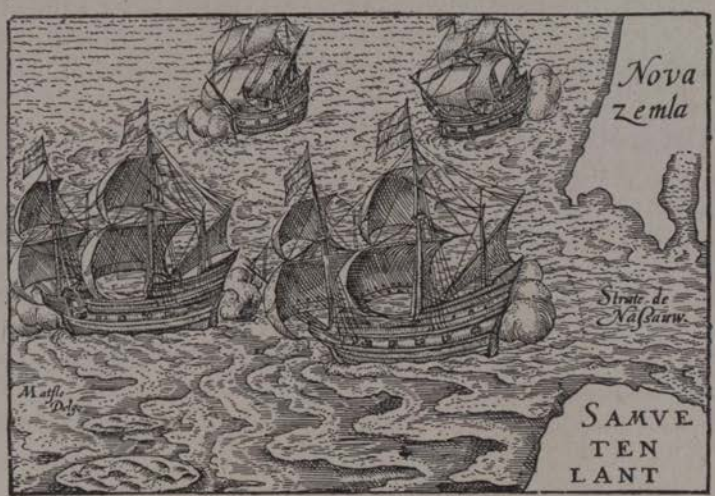
first sight of, untill we came to a great lake of water, as wee could judge it to bee, being drowned land, which made it to rise like islands, which was in length ten

leagues. The mouth of that land hath many shoalds, and the sea breaketh on them as it is cast out of the mouth of it. And from that lake or bay the land lyeth north by east, and wee had a great streame out of the bay; and from thence our sounding was ten fathoms two leagues from the land. At five of the clocke we anchored, being little winde, and rode in eight fathoms water; the night was faire. This night I found the land to hall the compasse 8 degrees. For to the northward off us we saw high hils. For the day before we found not above 2 degrees of variation. This is a very good land to fall with, and a pleasant land to see.

The *third*, the morning mystie, untill ten of the clocke; then it cleered, and the wind came to the south south-east, so wee weighed and stood to the northward. The land is very pleasant and high, and bold to fall withall. At three of the clock in the after-noone, wee came to three great rivers. So we stood along to the northmost, thinking to have gone into it, but we found it to have a very shoald barre before it, for we had but ten foot water. Then we cast about to the southward, and found two fathoms, three fathoms, and three and a quarter, till we came to the souther side of them; then we had five and sixe fathoms, and anchored. So wee sent in our boate to sound, and they found no lesse water then foure, five, sixe, and seven fathoms, and returned in an hour and a halfe. So we weighed and went in, and rode in five fathoms, oze ground, and saw many salmons, and mullets, and rayes, very great. The height is 40 degrees, 30 minutes.

The *fourth*, in the morning, as soone as the day was light, wee saw that it was good riding farther up. So we sent our boate to sound, and found that it was a very good harbour, and foure and five fathomes, two cables length from the shoare. Then we weighed and went in with our ship. Then our boate went on land with our net to fish, and caught ten great mullets, of a foote and

a halfe long a peece, and a ray as great as foure men could hale into the ship. So wee trimmed our boate and rode still all day. At night the wind blew hard at the north-west, and our anchor came home, and wee drove on shoare, but tooke no hurt, thanked bee God, for the ground is soft sand and oze. This day the people of the



DUTCH SHIPS OF HUDSON'S TIME
(From De Veer, "Drie Seylagien," Amsterdam, 1605)

countrey came aboord of us, seeming very glad of our comming, and brought greene tabacco, and gave us of it for knives and beads. They goe in deere skins loose, well dressed. They have yellow copper. They desire cloathes, and are very civill. They have great store of maize, or Indian wheate, whereof they make good bread. The countrey is full of great and tall oake.

The *fifth*, in the morning, as soone as the day was light, the wind ceased and the flood came. So we heaved off our ship againe into five fathoms water, and sent our boate to sound the bay, and we found that there was three fathoms hard by the souther shoare. Our men

went on land there, and saw great store of men, women, and children, who gave them tabacco at their comming on land. So they went up into the woods, and saw great store of very goodly oakes and some currants. For one of them came aboord and brought some dryed, and gave me some, which were sweet and good. This day many of the people came aboard, some in mantles of feathers, and some in skinnes of divers sorts of good furres. Some women also came to us with hempe. They had red copper tabacco pipes, and other things of copper they did weare about their neckes. At night they went on land againe, so wee rode very quiet but durst not trust them.

The *sixth*, in the morning, was faire weather, and our master sent John Colman, with foure other men in our boate, over to the north-side to sound the other river, being foure leagues from us. They found by the way shoald water, two fathoms; but at the north of the river eighteen, and twentie fathoms, and very good riding for ships; and a narrow river to the westward, betweene two ilands. The lands, they told us, were as pleasant with grasse and flowers and goodly trees as ever they had seene, and very sweet smells came from them. So they went in two leagues and saw an open sea, and returned; and as they came backe, they were set upon by two canoes, the one having twelve, the other fourteene men. The night came on, and it began to rayne, so that their match went out; and they had one man slaine in the fight, which was an Englishman, named John Colman, with an arrow shot into his throat, and two more hurt. It grew so darke that they could not find the ship that night, but labored to and fro on their oars. They had so great a streame, that their grapnell would not hold them.

The *seventh*, was faire, and by ten of the clocke they returned aboord the ship, and brought our dead man with them, whom we carried on land and buryed, and

named the point after his name, Colmans Point. Then we hoysed in our boate, and raised her side with waste boords for defence of our men. So we rode still all night, having good regard to our watch.

The *eighth*, was very faire weather, wee rode still very quietly. The people came aboord us, and brought tabacco and Indian wheat to exchange for knives and beades, and offered us no violence. So we fitting up our boate did marke them, to see if they would make any shew of the death of our man; which they did not.

APPARATUS FOR CORRECTING ERRORS OF THE COMPASS

(From "Certaine Errors in Navigation." London, 1610)

The *ninth*, faire weather. In the morning, two great canoes came aboord full of men; the one with their bowes and arrowes, and the other in shew of buying of knives to betray us; but we perceived their intent. Wee tooke two of them to have kept them, and put red coates on them, and would not suffer the other to come neere us. So they went on land, and two other came aboord in a canoe; we tooke the one and let the other goe; but hee which wee had taken, got up and leapt over-boord. Then wee weighed and went off into the channell of the river, and anchored there all night.

The *tenth*, faire weather, we rode still till twelve of the clocke. Then we weighed and went over, and found

it shoald all the middle of the river, for wee could finde but two fathoms and a halfe and three fathomes for the space of a league; then wee came to three fathomes and foure fathomes, and so to seven fathomes, and anchored, and rode all night in soft ozie ground. The banke is sand.

The *eleventh* was faire and very hot weather. At one of the clocke in the after-noone wee weighed and went into the river, the wind at south south-west, little winde. Our soundings were seven, sixe, five, sixe, seven, eight, nine, ten, twelve, thirteene, and fourteene fathomes. Then it shoalded againe, and came to five fathomes. Then wee anchored, and saw that it was a very good harbour for all windes, and rode all night. The people of the country came aboord us, making shew of love, and gave us tabacco and Indian wheat, and departed for that night; but we durst not trust them.

The *twelfth*, very faire and hot. In the after-noone, at two of the clocke, wee weighed, the winde being variable betweene the north and the north-west. So we turned into the river two leagues and anchored. This morning, at our first rode in the river, there came eight and twentie canoes full of men, women and children to betray us; but we saw their intent, and suffered none of them to come aboord of us. At twelve of the clocke they departed. They brought with them oysters and beanes, whereof wee bought some. They have great tabacco pipes of yellow copper, and pots of earth to dresse their meate in. It floweth south-east by south within.

The *thirteenth*, faire weather, the wind northerly. At seven of the clocke in the morning, as the floud came we weighed, and turned foure miles into the river. The tide being done wee anchored. Then there came foure canoes aboord: but we suffered none of them to come into our ship. They brought great store of very good oysters aboord, which we bought for trifles. In the night I set

the variation of the compasse, and found it to be 13 degrees. In the after-noone we weighed, and turned in with the floud, two leagues and a halfe further, and anchored all night; and had five fathoms soft ozie ground;

A Regiment for the Sea, containing
verie neceſſarie matters for all ſorts of men and
trauailers, whervnto is added an Hidrographicall diſcourſe
touching the fiue ſeuerall paſſages into Cattay, written by
william Borne
Newly corrected and amended by Thomas Hood, D. in Phiſicke, who hath added a new Regiment, and Table of declination.
Whereunto is alſo adioyned the Mariners guide, with a perfect
Sea Carde by the ſaid Thomas Hood.
¶ Imprinted at London by T Fiſle, for Thomas Wight. 1596.

FACSIMILE OF TITLE-PAGE OF THE MOST FAMOUS SEA HANDBOOK OF HUDSON'S TIME

and had an high point of land, which shewed out to us, bearing north by east five leagues off us.

The *fourteenth*, in the morning, being very faire weather, the wind south-east, we sayled up the river twelve leagues, and had five fathoms, and five fathoms and a quarter lesse; and came to a streight betweene two points, and had eight, nine, and ten fathoms; and it trended north-east by north, one league; and we had twelve, thirteene, and fourteene fathomes. The river is

a mile broad: there is very high land on both sides. Then we went up north-west, a league and an halfe deepe water. Then north-east by north, five miles; then north-west by north, two leagues, and anchored. The land grew very high and mountainous. The river is full of fish.

The *fifteenth*, in the morning, was misty, until the sunne arose: then it cleered. So wee weighed with the wind at south, and ran up into the river twentie leagues, passing by high mountaines. Wee had a very good depth, as sixe, seven, eight, nine, ten, twelve, and thirteene fathomes, and great store of salmons in the river. This morning our two savages got out of a port and swam away. After we were under sayle, they called to us in scorne. At night we came to other mountaines, which lie from the rivers side. There wee found very loving people, and very old men: where wee were well used. Our boat went to fish, and caught great store of very good fish.

The *sixteenth*, faire and very hot weather. In the morning our boat went againe to fishing, but could catch but few, by reason their canoes had beene there all night. This morning the people came aboord, and brought us eares of Indian corne, and pompions, and tabacco: which wee bought for trifles. Wee rode still all day, and filled fresh water; at night wee weighed and went two leagues higher, and had shoald water: so wee anchored till day.

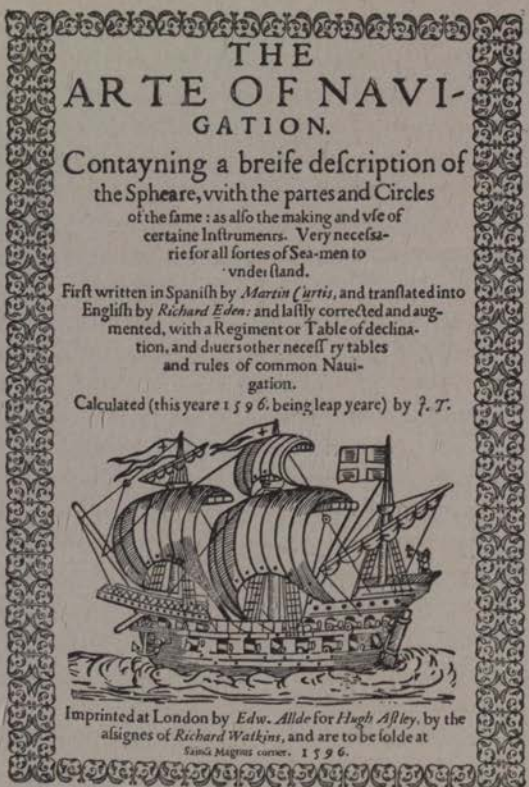
The *seventeenth*, faire sun-shining weather, and very hot. In the morning, as soone as the sun was up, we set sayle, and ran up sixe leagues higher, and found shoalds in the middle of the channell, and small ilands, but seven fathoms water on both sides. Toward night we borrowed so neere the shoare, that we grounded: so we layed out our small anchor, and heaved off againe. Then we borrowed on the banke in the channell, and came aground againe; while the floud ran we heaved off againe, and anchored all night.

The *eighteenth*, in the morning, was faire weather, and we rode still. In the after-noone our masters mate went on land with an old savage, a governor of the countrey; who carried him to his house, and made him good cheere. The *nineteenth*, was faire and hot weather: at the floud, being neere eleven of the clocke, wee weighed, and ran higher up two leagues above the shoalds, and had no lesse water than five fathoms; we anchored, and rode in eight fathomes. The people of the countrie came flocking aboord, and brought us grapes and pompions, which wee bought for trifles. And many brought us bevers skinnes and otters skinnes, which wee bought for beades, knives, and hatchets. So we rode there all night.

The *twentieth*, in the morning, was faire weather. Our masters mate with foure men went up with our boat to sound the river, and found two leagues above us but two fathomes water, and the channell very narrow; and above that place, seven or eight fathomes. Toward night they returned: and we rode still all night. The *one and twentieth* was faire weather, and the wind all southerly: we determined yet once more to go farther up into the river, to trie what depth and breadth it did beare; but much people resorted aboord, so wee went not this day. Our carpenter went on land, and made a foreyard. And our master and his mate determined to trie some of the chiefe men of the countrey, whether they had any treacherie in them. So they tooke them downe into the cabin, and gave them so much wine and *aqua vitæ*, that they were all merrie: and one of them had his wife with them, which sate so modestly, as any of our countrey women would doe in a strange place. In the ende one of them was drunke, which had been aboord of our ship all the time that we had beene there: and that was strange to them; for they could not tell how to take it. The canoes and folke went all on shoare, but some of them came againe, and brought stropes of

beades, some had sixe, seven, eight, nine, ten; and gave him. So he slept all night quietly.

The *two and twentieth* was faire weather: in the morning our masters mate and foure more of the companie


THE
ARTE OF NAVI-
GATION.
Contayning a breife deſcription of the Spheare, vvith the partes and Circles of the ſame: as alſo the making and vſe of certaine Inſtrumenrs. Very neceſſarie for all ſortes of Sea-men to vnderſtand.
First written in Spaniſh by *Martin Curtis*, and tranſlated into Engliſh by *Richard Eden*: and laſtly corrected and augmented, with a Regiment or Table of declination, and diuers other neceſſary tables and rules of common Nauigation.
Calculated (this yeare 1596. being leap yeare) by *I. T.*
Imprinted at London by *Edw. Allde* for *Hugh Aſtley*, by the aſsignes of *Richard Watkins*, and are to be ſolde at Saint Magnus corner. 1596.

FACSIMILE OF TITLE-PAGE OF A SEA HANDBOOK OF HUDSON'S TIME

went up with our boat to sound the river higher up. The people of the countrey came not aboord till noone: but when they came, and saw the savages well, they were glad. So at three of the clocke in the afternoone they came aboord, and brought tabacco, and more

beades, and gave them to our master, and made an oration, and shewed him all the countrey round about. Then they sent one of their companie on land, who presently returned, and brought a great platter full of venison dressed by themselves; and they caused him to eate with them: then they made him reverence and departed, all save the old man that lay aboord. This night, at ten of the clocke, our boat returned in a showre of raine from sounding of the river; and found it to bee at an end for shipping to goe in. For they had beene up eight or nine leagues, and found but seven foot water, and unconstant soundings.

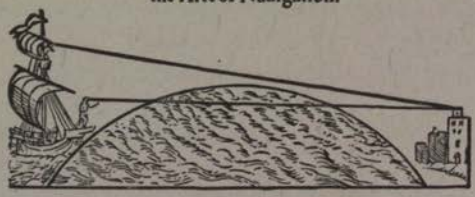
The *three and twentieth*, faire weather. At twelve of the clocke wee weighed, and went downe two leagues to a shoald that had two channels, one on the one side, and another on the other, and had little wind, whereby the tyde layed us upon it. So there wee sate on ground the space of an houre till the floud came. Then wee had a little gale of wind at the west. So wee got our ship into deepe water, and rode all night very well.

The *foure and twentieth* was faire weather: the winde at the north-west, wee weighed, and went downe the river seven or eight leagues; and at halfe ebbe wee came on ground on a banke of oze in the middle of the river, and sate there till the floud. Then wee went on land, and gathered good store of chest-nuts. At ten of the clocke wee came off into deepe water, and anchored.

The *five and twentieth* was faire weather, and the wind at south a stiffe gale. We rode still, and went on land to walke on the west side of the river, and found good ground for corne and other garden herbs, with great store of goodly oakes, and walnut-trees, and chest-nut trees, ewe trees, and trees of sweet wood in great abundance, and great store of slate for houses, and other good stones.

The *sixe and twentieth* was faire weather, and the wind at south a stiffe gale; wee rode still. In the morning our

carpenter went on land, with our masters mate and foure more of our companie, to cut wood. This morning, two canoes came up the river from the place where we first found loving people, and in one of them was the old man



the Arte of Nauigation. Fol. 6.

But here ſome may mooue a doubte, ſaying, that on the earth we may ſée many mountaynes, and conſequently many great Vallyes and Playnes, with many diuerſities of ſundry other déepe and vnequall places, by reaſon whereof, the earth cannot truely be called rounde. To this I ſay, that in two manners, the earth is called and vnderſtoode to be rounde. As after one manner, ſpeaking preciſely, it is called rounde, as a Circle or a Sphere, whiche we call rounde, becauſe that all right lynes drawen from the center thereof to the circumference, are equall. The other roundneſſe, is conſidered without this preciſeneſſe: and is ſuch, as not by all hys partes is equally diſtant from hys myddeſt or center, but hath ſome partes hygher, and ſome lower, yet not in ſuch quantitie as may deſtroy the roundneſſe of the whole. As if in a Bowle there were certayne clyftes or holes, it ſhoulde not thereby leaue to be rounde, although not perfectly or preciſely rounde. And for this cauſe ſaith Auerrois, that although both the heauenly bodies and the Elements are of round fourme, yet differ they in this, that the heauenly Spheres haue perfect roundneſſe, and the Elementes not. As the Earth, by reaſon of his Mountaynes & Vales, the Sea by hys encreaſing, and decreaſing: the Ayre alſo for his neareneſſe to the fyre, and by hys contrarietie doeth ſometyme doo, and ſemetyme ſuffer (that is to ſay) is ſometyme actiue and ſometime paſſiue. So that following the one, it fleeth the other, by reaſon whereof, it alſo lacketh perfecte roundneſſe. But the fyre, for as muche as it is neare to the concaue of the Circle of the Moone, which is Spherical, may therefore be called Spherical or rounde.

How the earth is round

The ayre is actiue & paſſiue, and not perfectly round.

The fyre is rounde.

B 4 The

"HOW THE EARTH IS ROUND"

Facsimile of a page of "The Arte of Navigation." London, 1596

that had lyen aboord of us at the other place. He brought another old man with him, which brought more stropes of beades and gave them to our master, and shewed him all the countrey there about as though it were at his command. So he made the two old men dine

with him, and the old mans wife: for they brought two old women, and two young maidens of the age of sixteene or seventeene yeares with them, who behaved themselves very modestly. Our master gave one of the old men a knife, and they gave him and us tabacco. And at one of the clocke they departed downe the river, making signes that wee should come downe to them; for wee were within two leagues of the place where they dwelt.

The *seven and twentieth*, in the morning, was faire weather, but much wind at the north; we weighed and set our fore top-sayle, and our ship would not flat, but ran on the ozie banke at half ebbe. Wee layed out anchor to heave her off, but could not. So wee sate from halfe ebbe to halfe floud: then wee set our fore-sayle and mayne top-sail, and got downe sixe leagues. The old man came aboord, and would have had us anchor, and goe on land to eate with him: but the wind being faire, we would not yeeld to his request; so he left us, being very sorrowfull for our departure. At five of the clocke in the afternoone, the wind came to the south south-west. So wee made a boord or two, and anchored in fourteen fathomes water. Then our boat went on shoare to fish right against the ship. Our masters mate and boatswaine, and three more of the companie, went on land to fish, but could not finde a good place. They tooke four or five and twentie mullets, breames, bases, and barbils; and returned in an houre. We rode still all night.

The *eight and twentieth*, being faire weather, as soon as the day was light, wee weighed at halfe ebbe, and turned downe two leagues belowe water; for the streame doth runne the last quarter ebbe: then we anchored till high water. At three of the clocke in the after-noone we weighed, and turned downe three leagues, untill it was darke: then wee anchored.

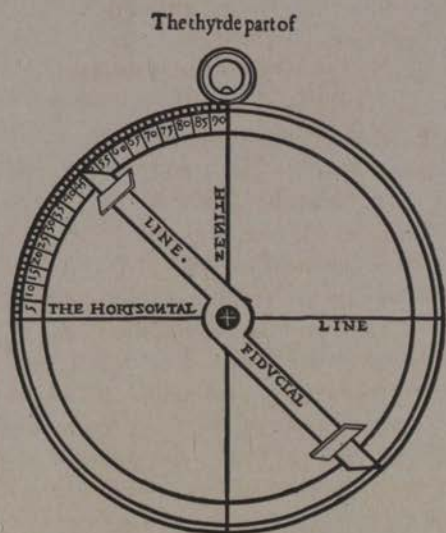
The *nine and twentieth* was drie close weather; the

wind at south, and south and by west; we weighed early in the morning, and turned downe three leagues by a lowe water, and anchored at the lower end of the long reach: for it is sixe leagues long. Then there came certaine Indians in a canoe to us, but would not come aboord. After dinner there came the canoe with other men, whereoff three came aboord us. At three of the clocke in the after-noone wee weighed, as soon as the ebbe came, and turned downe to the edge of the mountaines, or the northermost of the mountaines, and anchored: because the high land hath many points, and a narrow channel, and hath manie eddie winds. So we rode quietly all night in seven fathoms water.

The *thirtieth* was faire weather, and the wind at south-east, a stiffe gale betweene the mountaynes. We rode still the afternoone. The people of the countrey came aboord us and brought some small skinnes with them, which we bought for knives and trifles. This is a very pleasant place to build a towne on. The road is very neere, and very good for all winds, save an east north-east wind. The mountaynes look as if some metall or minerall were in them. For the trees that grow on them were all blasted, and some of them barren, with few or no trees on them. The people brought a stone aboord like to an emery (a stone used by glasiers to cut glasse), it would cut iron or steele: yet being bruised small, and water put to it, it made a color like blacke lead glistering: it is also good for painters colours. At three of the clocke they departed, and we rode still all night.

The *first of October*, faire weather, the wind variable betweene the west and the north. In the morning we weighed at seven of the clocke with the ebbe, and got downe below the mountaynes, which was seven leagues. Then it fell calme and the floud was come, and wee anchored at twelve of the clocke. The people of the mountaynes came aboord us, wondering at our ship

and weapons. We bought some small skinnes of them for trifles. This afternoone, one canoe kept hanging under our sterne with one man in it, which we could not keepe from thence, who got up by our rudder to the cabin window, and stole out my pillow, and two shirts, and two bandeleeres. Our master mate shot at him, and strooke him on the brest, and killed him. Whereupon all the rest fled away, some in their canoes, and so leapt out of them into the water. We manned our boat, and got our things againe. Then one of them that



To take the altitude of the Sunne.

To take the altitude of the Sunne, hang vp the Astrolabie by the ryng, and set the Alhidada against the Sunne, and rayse it, or put it downe in the quarter that is graduate, vntill the beames of the Sunne enter in by the little hole of the other tablet or raysed plate, and precisely by the other litle hole of the other tablet. Then looke vpon the lyne of confidence: and how many degrées it sheweth in the quarter that is graduate (beginning from the Horizontall lyne) so many degrées of height hath the Sunne. In like maner shall you doo to take the altitude of any other Star, looking through the great holes, because this may hardly be seene by the litle holes.

The

AN ASTROLABIE, 1596

(From "The Arte of Navigation." London, 1596)

swamme got hold of our boat, thinking to overthrow it. But our cooke tooke a sword, and cut off one of his hands, and he was drowned. By this time the ebbe was come, and we weighed and got down two leagues: by that time it was darke. So we anchored in foure fathomes water, and rode well.

The *second*, faire weather. At break of day wee weighed, the winde being at north-west, and got downe seven leagues; then the floud was come strong, so we anchored. Then came one of the savages that swamme away from us at our going up the river with many other, thinking to betray us. But wee perceived their intent, and suffered none of them to enter our ship. Whereupon two canoes full of men, with their bowes and arrows shot at us after our sterne: in recompence whereof we discharged sixe muskets, and killed two or three of them. Then above an hundred of them came to a point of land to shoot at us. There I shot a falcon at them, and killed two of them: whereupon the rest fled into the woods. Yet they manned off another canoe with nine or ten men, which came to meet us. So I shot at it also a falcon, and shot it through, and killed one of them. Then our men with their muskets killed three or foure more of them. So they went their way: within a while after wee got downe two leagues beyond that place, and anchored in the bay, cleere from all danger of them on the other side of the river, where we saw a very good piece of ground: and hard by it there was a cliffe, that looked of the colour of a white greene, as though it were either copper or silver myne: and I thinke it to be one of them, by the trees that grow upon it. For they be all burned, and the other places are greene as grasse; it is on that side of the river that is called Manna-hata. There we saw no people to trouble us: and rode quietly all night; but had much wind and raine.

The *third*, was very stormie; the wind at east north-east. In the morning, in a gust of wind and raine, our

anchor came home, and we drove on ground, but it was ozie. Then as we were about to heave out an anchor, the wind came to the north north-west, and drove us off againe. Then we shot an anchor, and let it fall in foure fathomes water, and weighed the other. Wee had much winde and raine, with thicke weather; so we roade still all night.

The *fourth*, was faire weather, and the wind at north north-west; we weighed and came out of the river, into which we had runne so farre. Within a while after *wee came out also of the great mouth of the great river*, that runneth up to the north-west, borrowing upon the norther side of the same, thinking to have deepe water; for we had sounded a great way with our boat at our first going in, and found seven, six, and five fathomes. So we came out that way, but we were deceived, for we had but eight foot and an halfe water: and so three, five, three, and two fathomes and an halfe. And then three, foure, five, sixe, seven, eight, nine and ten fathomes. And by twelve of the clocke we were cleere of all the inlet. Then we took in our boat, and set our mayne-sayle, and sprit-sayle, and our top-sayles, and steered away east south-east, and south-east by east off into the mayne sea: and the land on the souther side of the bay or inlet did beare at noone west and by south foure leagues from us.

The *fifth* was faire weather, and the wind variable betweene the north and the east. Wee held on our course south-east by east. At noone I observed and found our height to bee 39 degrees, 30 minutes. Our compasse varied sixe degrees to the west.

We continued our course toward England, without seeing any land by the way, all the rest of this moneth of *October:* and on the *seventh day of November, stilo novo*, being Saturday, by the grace of God we safely arrived in the range of Dartmouth, in Devonshire, in the yeere 1609.

Arrival of the Pilgrims at Cape Cod, 1620

Extract from Governor William Bradford's "History of the Plimouth Plantation." (See page 86.)

Being thus arrived in a good harbor and brought safe to land, they fell upon their knees & blessed ye God of heaven, who had brought them over ye vast and furious ocean, and delivered them from all ye periles & miseries thereof, againe to set their feete on ye firme and stable earth, their proper elemente. And no marvell if they were thus joyefull, seeing wise Seneca was so affected with sailing a few miles on ye coast of his owne Italy; as he affirmed, that he had rather remaine twentie years on his way by land, then pass by sea to any place in a short time; so tedious & dreadful was ye same unto him.

But hear I cannot but stay and make a pause, and stand half amased at this poore peoples presente condition; and so I thinke will the reader too, when he well considers ye same. Being thus passed ye vast ocean, and a sea of troubles before in their preparation (as may be remembered by yt which wente before), they had now no friends to wellcome them, nor inns to entertaine or refresh their weather-beaten bodys, no houses or much less townes to repaire too, to seeke for succoure. It is recorded in scripture as a mercie to ye apostle & his shipwraked company, yt the barbarians shewed them no smale kindnes in refreshing them, but these savage barbarians, when they mette with them (as after will appeare) were readier to fill their sids full of arrows then

THE LANDING OF THE PILGRIMS

otherwise. And for ye season it was winter, and they that know ye winters of yt cuntrie know them to be sharp & violent, & subjecte to cruell & feirce stormes, deangerous to travill to known places, much more to serch an unknown coast. Besids, what could they see but a hidious & desolate wildernes, full of wild beasts & willd men? and what multituds ther might be of them they knew not. Nether could they, as it were, goe up to ye tope of Pisgah, to vew from this willdernes a more goodly cuntrie to feed their hops; for which way soever they turned their eys (save upward to ye heavens) they could have litle solace or content in respecte of any outward objects. For sumer being done, all things stand upon them with a weatherbeaten face; and ye whole countrie, full of woods & thickets, represented a wild & savage heiw. If they looked behind them; ther was ye mighty ocean which they had passed, and was now as a maine barr & goulfe to separate them from all ye civill parts of ye world. If it be said they had a ship to sucour them, it is trew; but what heard they daly from ye mr. & company? but yt with speede they should looke out a place with their shallop, wher they would be at some near distance; for ye season was shuch as he would not stirr from thence till a safe harbor was discovered by them wher they would be, and he might goe without danger; and that victells consumed apace, but he must & would keepe sufficient for them selves & their returne. Yea, it was muttered by some, that if they gott not a place in time, they would turne them & their goods ashore & leave them. Let it also be considered what weake hopes of supply & succoure they left behinde them, yt might bear up their minds in this sade condition and trialls they were under; and they could not but be very smale. It is true, indeed, ye affections & love of their brethren at Leyden was cordiall & entire towards them, but they had little power to help them, or them selves; and how ye case stode

AUSTERFIELD CHURCH IN WHICH WILLIAM BRADFORD WAS BAPTIZED

betweene them & ye marchants at their coming away, hath allready been declared. What could now sustaine them but ye spirite of God & his grace? May not & ought not the children of these fathers rightly say: *Our faithers were Englishmen which came over this great ocean, and were ready to perish in this willdernes; but they cried unto ye Lord, and he heard their voyce, and looked on their adversitie, &c. Let them therefore praise ye Lord, because he is good, & his mercies endure for ever. Yea, let them which have been redeemed of ye Lord, shew how he hath delivered them from ye hand of ye oppressour. When they wandered in ye deserte willdernes out of ye way, and found no citie to dwell in, bouth hungrie & thirstie, their sowle was overwhelmed in them. Let them confess before ye Lord his loving kindnes, and his wonderful works before ye sons of men.*

The Mayflower Compact, 1620

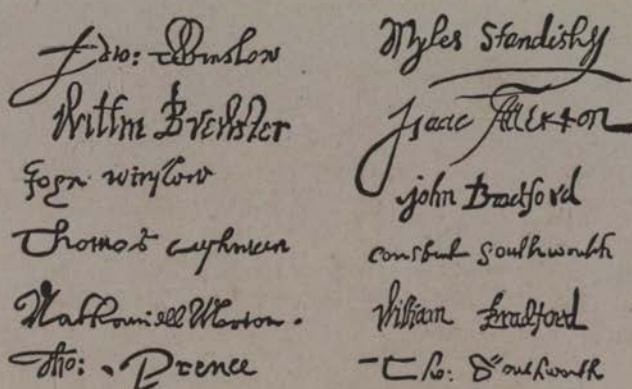
The Pilgrim party left Delft Haven for England in July, 1620, and 101 of those who came from Leyden sailed in the *Mayflower* on September 6 following. The vessel first anchored in Cape Cod, in what is now the harbor of Provincetown, where nearly all the party went ashore. A permanent landing-place was selected, where New Plymouth was built. Most of the women and children remained on the vessel until log huts were built for their reception, and it was March 21, 1621, before the survivors were all landed.

On the way over the following compact or agreement was signed on the lid of Elder Brewster's chest, by forty-one men, each subscriber placing opposite his name the number of his family. Text from Bradford's "History of the Plimouth Plantation." (See page 88.)

In the name of God, Amen. We, whose names are underwritten, the loyal subjects of our dread sovereigne Lord, King James, by the grace of God, of Great Britaine, France, and Ireland king, defender of the faith, etc., having undertaken, for the glory of God, and advancement of the Christian faith, and honour of our king and country, a voyage to plant the first colony in the Northerne parts of Virginia, doe, by these presents solemnly and mutually in the presence of God, and one of another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a civill body politick, for our better ordering

MEETING OF GOVERNOR JOHN CARVER AND MASSASOIT

and preservation and furtherance of the ends aforesaid; and by virtue hereof to enacte, constitute, and frame such just and equall laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions, and offices, from time to time, as shall be



AUTOGRAPHS OF THE PILGRIMS

thought most meete and convenient for the generall good of the Colonie, unto which we promise all due submission and obedience. In witness whereof we have hereunder subscribed our names at Cap-Codd the 11. of November, in the year of the raigne of our sovereigne lord, King James, of England, France, and Ireland, the eighteenth, and of Scotland the fiftie-fourth. Anno. Dom. 1620.

The following are the names of the forty-one persons who signed the compact, and are known as the Pilgrim Fathers: John Carver, William Bradford, Edward Winslow, William Brewster, Isaac Allerton, Myles Standish, John Alden, Samuel Fuller, Christo-

ELDER BREWSTER'S CHEST AND DINNER-POT

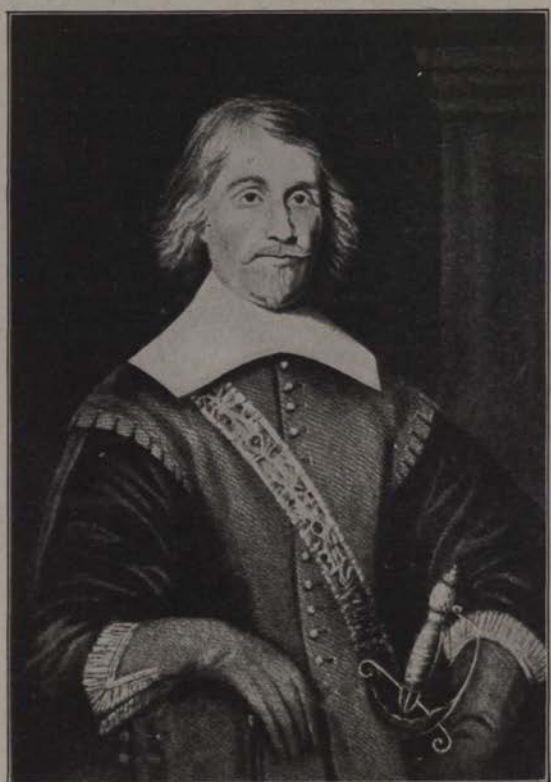
pher Martin, William Mullins, William White, Richard Warren, John Howland, Stephen Hopkins, Edward Tilley, John Tilley, Francis Cook, Thomas Rogers, Thomas Tinker, John Ridgedale, Edward Fuller, John Turner, Francis Eaton, James Chilton, John Crackston, John Billington, Moses Fletcher, John Goodman, Degory Priest, Thomas Williams, Gilbert Winslow, Edward Margeson, Peter Brown, Richard Britteridge, George Soule, Richard Clarke, Richard Gardiner, John Allerton, Thomas English, Edward Doty, Edward Lister.

CHARTER OF MASSACHUSETTS BAY COLONY, 1629

"The Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England" were granted a patent by the Council for New England in 1628, and in the following year they received a charter from the King. The extracts here given are from "Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society." (See page 104.)

CHARLES, BY THE GRACE OF GOD, Kinge of England, Scotland, Fraunce, and Ireland, Defendor of the Fayth, etc. To ALL to whome theis Presents shall come Greeting. WHEREAS, our most Deare and Royall Father, Kinge James, of blessed Memory, by his Highnes Letters-patents bearing Date at Westminster the third Day of November, in the eighteenth Yeare of his Raigne, HATH given and graunted vnto the Councell established at Plymouth, in the County of Devon, for the planting, ruling, ordering, and governing of Newe England in America, and to their Successors and Assignes for ever, all that Parte of America, lyeing and being in Bredth, from Forty Degrees of Northerly Latitude from the Equinoctiall Lyne, to forty eight Degrees of the saide Northerly Latitude inclusively, and in Length, of and within all the Breadth aforesaid, throughout the Maine Landes from Sea to Sea; together also with all the Firme Landes, Soyles, Groundes, Havens, Portes, Rivers, Waters, Fishing, Mynes, and Myneralls, as well Royall Mynes of Gould and Silver, as other Mynes and Mineralls, precious Stones, Quarries, and all and singular other

Comodities, Jurisdiccons, Royalties, Priviledges, Franchesies, and Prehemynences, both within the said Tract of Land vpon the Mayne, and also within the Islandes and Seas adjoining: . . . To HAVE and to houlde, possess, and enjoy all and singular the aforesaid Continent, Landes, Territories, Islandes, Hereditaments, and Precincts, Seas, Waters, Fishings, with all, and all Manner their Comodities, Royalties, Liberties, Prehemynences, and Proffitts that should from thenceforth arise from thence, with all and singular their Appurtenances, and every Parte and Parcell thereof, vnto the saide Councell and their Successors and Assignes for ever, to the sole and proper Vse, Benefitt, and Behoofe of them the saide Councell, and their Successors and Assignes for ever: . . . YEILDINGE and paying therefore to the saide late Kinge, his Heires and Successors, the fifte Parte of the Oare of Gould and Silver, which should from tyme to tyme, and at all Tymes then after happen to be found, gotten, had, and obteyned in, att, or within any of the saide Landes, Lymitts, Territories, and Precincts, or in or within any Parte or Parcell thereof, for or in Respect of all and all Manner of Duties, Demaunds and Services whatsoever, to be don, made, or paide to our saide Dear Father the late Kinge his Heires and Successors, as in and by the saide Letters-patents (amongst sundrie other Clauses, Powers, Priviledges, and Grauntes therein conteyned, more at large appeareth: . . . NOWE Knowe Yee, that Wee, at the humble Suite and Peticon of the saide Sir Henry Rosewell, Sir John Younge, Thomas Southcott, John Humfrey, John Endecott, and Simon Whetcombe, and of others whome they have associated vnto them, HAVE, for divers good Causes and consideracons, vs moveing, graunted and confirmed, and by theis Presents of our especiall Grace, certen Knowledge, and mere Mocon, doe graunt and confirme vnto the saide . . . all the saide Parte of Newe England in America, lye-



Ric: Saltonstall

SIR RICHARD SALTONSTALL

ing and extending betweene the Boundes and Lymytts in the said recited Indenture expressed: . . . To HAVE, and to hould, the saide Parte of Newe England in America, and other the Premisses hereby mencõed to be graunted and confirmed, and every Parte and Parcell thereof with the Appurtennces, to the saide . . . to their

NEVVES FROM AMERICA;

OR,

A NEW AND EXPERIMENTALL DISCOVERIE OF NEW ENGLAND;

CONTAINING,

A TRVE RELATION OF THEIR War-like proceedings these two yeares last past, with a Figure of the Indian Fort, or Palizado.

Also a discovery of these places, that as yet have very few or no Inhabitants which would yeeld speciall accommodation to such as will Plant there, *Viz.* *Queenapoick.* *Agu-wom.* *Hudsons River.* *Long Island.* *Nahanticut.* *Martins Vinyard.* *Pequet.* *Naranfett Bay.* *Elizabeth Islands.* *Pascat away.* *Casko* with about a hundred Islands neere to *Casko.*

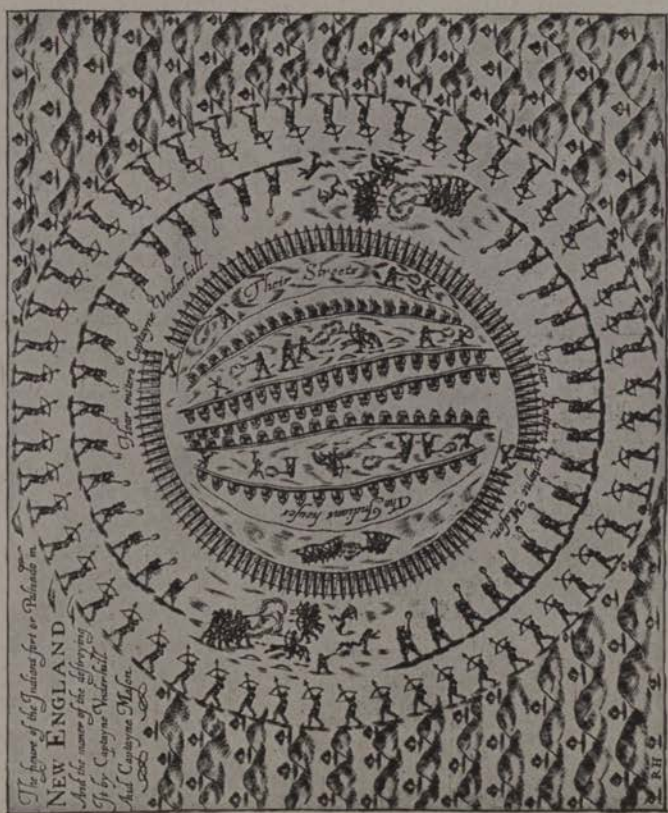
By Captaine IOHN UNDERHILL, a Commander in the Warres there.

LONDON,
Printed by *I.D.* for *Peter Cole*, and are to be sold at the signe of the Glove in Corne-hill neere the Royall Exchange. 1638.

TITLE-PAGE "NEWES FROM AMERICA"

onlie proper and absolute Vse and Behoofe for evermore; To be holden of Vs, our Heires and Successors, as of our Mannor of Eastgreenwich aforesaid, in free and com̃on Socage, and not in Capite, nor by Knights Service; AND ALSO YEILDING and paying therefore to Vs, our Heires and Successors, the fifte parte onlie of all Oare of Gould and Silver, which from tyme to tyme, and att all tymes hereafter shalbe there gotten, had, or obteyned, for all Services, Exaccons and Demaundes whatsoever, according to the Tenure and Reservacon in the said recited Indenture expressed. AND FURTHER, know yee, that of our more especiall Grace, certen Knowledg, and meere moc̃on, Wee have given and graunted, and by theis Presents, doe for Vs, our Heires and Successors, give and graunte vnto the saide . . . all that Parte of Newe England in America, which lyes and extendes betweene a great River there, com̃onlie called Monomack River, alias Merrimack River, and a certen other River there, called Charles River, being in the Bottome of a certen Bay there, comonlie called Massachusetts, alias Mattachusetts, alias Massatusetts Bay; and also all and singuler those Landes and Hereditaments whatsoever, lying within the Space of Three Englishe Myles on the South Parte of the said River, called Charles River, or of any or every Parte thereof; and also all and singuler the Landes and Hereditaments whatsoever, lying and being within the Space of Three Englishe Miles to the southward of the southermost Parte of the said Baye, called Massachusetts, alias Mattachusetts, alias Massatusets Bay: And also all those Landes and Hereditaments whatsoever, which lye and be within the Space of Three English Myles to the Northward of the saide River, called Monomack, alias Merrymack, or to the Norward of any and every Parte thereof, and all Landes and Hereditaments whatsoever, lyeing within the Lymitts aforesaide, North and South, in Latitude and Bredth, and in Length and Longitude, of and within all the Bredth aforesaide, throughout

the mayne Landes there, from the Atlantick and Westerne Sea and Ocean on the East Parte, to the South Sea on the West Parte; . . . To BE HOLDEN of Vs, our Heires and Successors, as of our Manor of Eastgreenwich in our


NEW ENGLAND
Their Shrouds
Their Sagamore
Their Sagamore
Their Sagamore

teyned, for all Services, Exaccons, and Demaundes whatsoever; . . . WEE HAVE FURTHER hereby of our especial Grace, certain Knowledge and mere Moc̃on, Given, graunted and confirmed, and for Vs, our Heires and Successors, doe give, graunt, and confirme vnto our said trustie and welbeloved subiects . . . and all such others as shall hereafter be admitted and made free of the Company and Society hereafter menc̃oed, shall from tyme to tyme, and att all tymes forever hereafter be, by Vertue of theis presents, one Body corporate and politique in Fact and Name, by the Name of the Governor and Company of the Mattachusetts Bay in Newe-England, and them by the Name of the Governour and Company of the Mattachusetts Bay in Newe-England, one Bodie politique and corporate, in Deede, Fact, and Name; . . . And our Will and Pleasure is, and Wee doe hereby for Vs, our Heires and Successors, ordeyne and graunte, That from henceforth for ever, there shalbe one Governor, one Deputy Governor, and eighteene Assistants of the same Company, to be from tyme to tyme constituted, elected and chosen out of the Freemen of the saide Company, for the tyme being, in such Manner and Forme as hereafter in theis Presents is expressed, which said Officers shall applie themselves to take Care for the best disposeing and ordering of the generall buysines and Affaires of, for, and concerning the said Landes and Premisses hereby menc̃oed, to be graunted, and the Plantac̃ion thereof, and the Government of the People there. AND FOR the better Execucon of our Royall Pleasure and Graunte in this Behalf, WEE doe, by theis presents, for Vs, our Heires and Successors, nominate, ordeyne, make, & constitute, our welbeloved the saide Mathewe Cradocke, to be the first and present Governor of the said Company, and the saide Thomas Goffe, to be Deputy Governor of the saide Company, and the saide Sir Richard Saltonstall, Isaack Johnson, Samuel Aldersey, John Ven, John Humfrey, John Endecott, Simon

Whetcombe, Increase Noell, Richard Pery, Nathaniell Wright, Samuell Vassall, Theophilus Eaton, Thomas Adams, Thomas Hutchins, John Browne, George Foxcrofte, William Vassall, and William Pinchion, to be the present Assistants of the saide Company, to continue in the saide several Offices respectivelie for such tyme, and in such manner, as in and by theis Presents is hereafter declared and appointed. AND FURTHER, Wee will, and by theis Presents, for Vs, our Heires and Successors, doe ordeyne and graunte, That the Governor of the saide Company for the tyme being, or in his Absence by Occasion of Sickness or otherwise, the Deputie Governor for the tyme being, shall have Authoritie from tyme to tyme vpon all Occasions, to give order for the assembling of the saide Company, and calling them together to consult and avise of the Bussinesses and Affaires of the saide Company, and that the said Governor, Deputie Governor, and Assistants of the saide Company, for the tyme being, shall or maie once every Moneth, or oftener at their Pleasures, assemble and houlde and keepe a Courte or Assemblie of themselves, for the better ordering and directing of their Affaires, and that any seaven or more persons of the Assistants, togither with the Governor, or Deputie Governor so assembled, shalbe saide, taken, held, and reputed to be, and shalbe a full and sufficient Courte or Assemblie of the said Company, for the handling, ordering, and dispatching of all such Buysinesses and Occurrents as shall from tyme to tyme happen, touching or concerning the said Company or Plantacon; and that there shall or maie be held and kept by the Governor, or Deputie Governor of the said Company, and seaven or more of the said Assistants for the tyme being, vpon every last Wednesday in Hillary, Easter, Trinity, and Michas Termes respectivelie forever, one greate generall and solempe assemblie, which foure general assemblies shalbe stiled and called the foure greate and generall Courts of the saide Company; IN all

and every, or any of which saide greate and generall Courts soe assembled, WEE DOE for Vs, our Heires and Successors, give and graunte to the said Governor and Company, and their Successors, That the Governor, or in his absence, the Deputie Governor of the saide Company for the tyme being, and such of the Assistants and Freemen of the saide Company as shalbe present, or the greater nomber of them so assembled, whereof the Governor or Deputie Governor and six of the Assistants at the least to be seaven, shall have full Power and authoritie to choose, nominate, and appointe, such and soe many others as they shall thinke fitt, and that shall be willing to accept the same, to be free of the said Company and Body, and them into the same to admitt; and to elect and constitute such Officers as they shall thinke fitt and requisite, for the ordering, mannaging, and dispatching of the Affaires of the saide Governor and Company, and their Successors; And to make Lawes and Ordiñnces for the Good and Welfare of the saide Company, and for the Government and ordering of the saide Landes and Plantac̃on, and the People inhabiting and to inhabite the same, as to them from tyme to tyme shalbe thought meete, soe as such Lawes and Ordinances be not contrarie or repugnant to the Lawes and Statuts of this our Realme of England. AND, our Will nd Pleasure is, and Wee doe hereby for Vs, our Heires and Successors, establish and ordeyne, That yearely once in the yeare, for ever hereafter, namely, the last Wednesday in Easter Tearme, yearely, the Governor, Deputy-Governor, and Assistants of the saide Company and all other officers of the saide Company shalbe in the Generall Court or Assembly to be held for that Day or Tyme, newly chosen for the Yeare ensueing by such greater parte of the saide Company, for the Tyme being, then and there present as is aforesaide . . . our Will and Pleasure is, That aswell such as are by theis Presents appointed to be the present Governor, Deputie Governor, and Assistants of the

NEVV ENGLANDS PROSPECT.

A true, lively, and experimentall deſcription of that part of *America*, commonly called NEVV ENGLAND: diſcovering the ſtate of that Gountrie, both as it ſtands to our new-come *Engliſh* Planters; and to the old Native Inhabitants.

Laying downe that which may both enrich the knowledge of the mind-travelling Reader, or benefit the future Voyager.

By WILLIAM WOOD.

Printed at *London* by *Tho. Cotes*, for *John Bellamie*, and are to be ſold at his ſhop, at the three Golden Lyons in *Corne-hill*, neere the *Royall Exchange*. 1634.

TITLE-PAGE "NEW ENGLANDS PROSPECT"

said Company, as those that shall succeed them, and all other Officers to be appointed and chosen as aforesaid, shall, before they vndertake the Execucon of their saide Offices and Places respectivelie, take their Corporal Oathes for the due and faithfull Performance of their Duties in their severall Offices and Places, before such Person or Persons as are by theis Presents herevnder appointed to take and receive the same. . . . AND, Wee doe further, of our especial Grace, certen Knowledge, and meere mocon, for Vs, our Heires and Successors, give and graunte to the said Governor and Company, and their Successors for ever by theis Presents, That it shalbe lawfull and free for them and their Assignes, at all and every Tyme and Tymes hereafter, out of any our Realmes or Domynions whatsoever, to take, leade, carry, and transport, for in and into their Voyages, and for and towardes the said Plantacon in Newe England, all such and soe many of our loving Subjects, or any other strangers that will become our loving Subjects, and live under our Allegiance, as shall willinglie accompany them in the same Voyages and Plantacon; and also Shipping, Armour, Weapons, Ordinance, Munitions, Powder, Shott, Corne, Victualls, and all Manner of Clothing, Implements, Furniture, Beastes, Cattle, Horses, Mares, Merchandizes, and all other Thinges necessarie for the saide Plantacõn, and for their Vse and Defence, and for Trade with the People there, and in passing and returning to and fro, any Lawe or Statute to the contrarie hereof in any wise notwithstanding; and without payeing or yeilding any Custome or Subsidie, either inward or outward, to Vs, our Heires or Successors, for the same, by the Space of seaven Yeares from the Day of the Date of theis Presents. PROVIDED, that none of the saide Persons be such as shalbe hereafter by especiall Name restrayned by Vs, our Heires or Successors. AND, for their further Encouragement, of our especiall Grace and Favor, Wee doe by theis Presents, for Vs, our Heires and Successors,

yeild and graunt to the saide Governor and Company, and their Successors, and every of them, their Factors and Assignes, That they and every of them shalbe free and quitt from all Taxes, Subsidies, and Customes, in Newe England, for the like Space of seaven Yeares, and from all Taxes and Imposicons for the Space of twenty and one Yeares, vpon all Goodes and Merchandizes at any Tyme or Tymes hereafter, either vpon Importac̃on thither, or Exportac̃on from thence into our Realme of England, or into any other our Domynions by the said Governor and Company, and their Successors, their Deputies, Factors, and Assignes, or any of them; EXCEPT onlie the five Pounds per Centum due for Custome vpon all such Goodes and Merchandizes as after the saide seaven Yeares shalbe expired, shalbe brought or imported into our Realme of England, or any other of our Dominions, according to the auncient Trade of Merchants, which five Poundes per Centum onlie being paide, it shall be thenceforth lawfull and free for the said Adventurers, the same Goodes and Merchandizes to export and carry out of our said Domynions into forraine Partes, without any Custome, Tax, or other Dutie to be paid to Vs, our Heires or Successors, or to any other Officers or Ministers of Vs, our Heires and Successors. PROVIDED, that the said Goodes and Merchandizes be shipped out within thirteene Monethes, after their first Landing within any Parte of the saide Domynions. AND, Wee doe for Vs, our Heires and Successors, give and graunte vnto the saide Governor and Company, and their Successors, That whensoever, or soe often as any Custome or Subsedie shall growe due or payeable vnto Vs, our Heires, or Successors, according to the Lymittacon and Appointment aforesaide, by Reason of any Goodes, Wares, or Merchandizes to be shipped out, or any Retorne to be made of any Goodes, Wares, or Merchandize vnto or from the said Partes of Newe England hereby menc̃oed to be graunted as afore-

New-Englands Plantation.

A Catalogue of ſuch needefull things euery Planter doth or ought to prouide to go to *New-England*;

as namely for one man, which being doubled, may ſerue for as many as you pleaſe, *viz.*

Victuals for a whole yeere for a man, and ſo after the rate for more.

8 Bushels of meale.
2 Bushels of peaſe
2 Bushels of Otemeale.
1 Gallon of Aquavitæ.
1 Gallon of Oyle.
2 Gallons of Vineger.
1 Firkin of Butter.

Apparell.

1 Monmoth Cap.
3 Falling bands.
3 Shirts.
1 Waſt-coat.
1 Suit of Canuaſe.
1 Suit of Frize.
1 Suit of Cloth.
3 Paire of Stockings.
2 Paire of Shoes.
2 Paire of Sheets.
7 Ells of Canuas to make a bed and bulſter.
1 Paire of Blankets.
1 Course Rug.

Armes.

1 Armor compleat.
1 Long peece.
1 Sword.
1 Belt.
1 Bandilier.
20 Pound of powder.
60 Pound of Lead.
1 Piſtoll and Goose ſhot.

Tooles.

1 Broad Howe.
1 Narrow Howe.
1 Broad Axe.
1 Felling Axe.
1 Steele Handſawe.
1 whipſawe.
1 Hammer.
1 Shouell

FACSIMILE OF "A CATALOGUE

1 *Shouell.*
1 *Spade.*
2 *Augres.*
4 *Chiſſels.*
2 *Percers ſtocked.*
1 *Gimblet.*
1 *Hatchet.*
2 *Frowes.*
1 *Hand-Bill.*
1 *Grindſtone.*
1 *Pickaxe.*
Nayles of all ſorts.

Houſhold imple-
ments.

1 *Iron pot.*
1 *Kettell.*
1 *Frying pan.*
1 *Gridiron.*
2 *Skellets.*
1 *Spit.*
Woodden Platters.
Diſhes.
Spoones.
Trenchers.

Spices.

Sugar.
Pepper.
Cloues.
Mace.
Cinnamon.
Nutmegs.
Fruit.

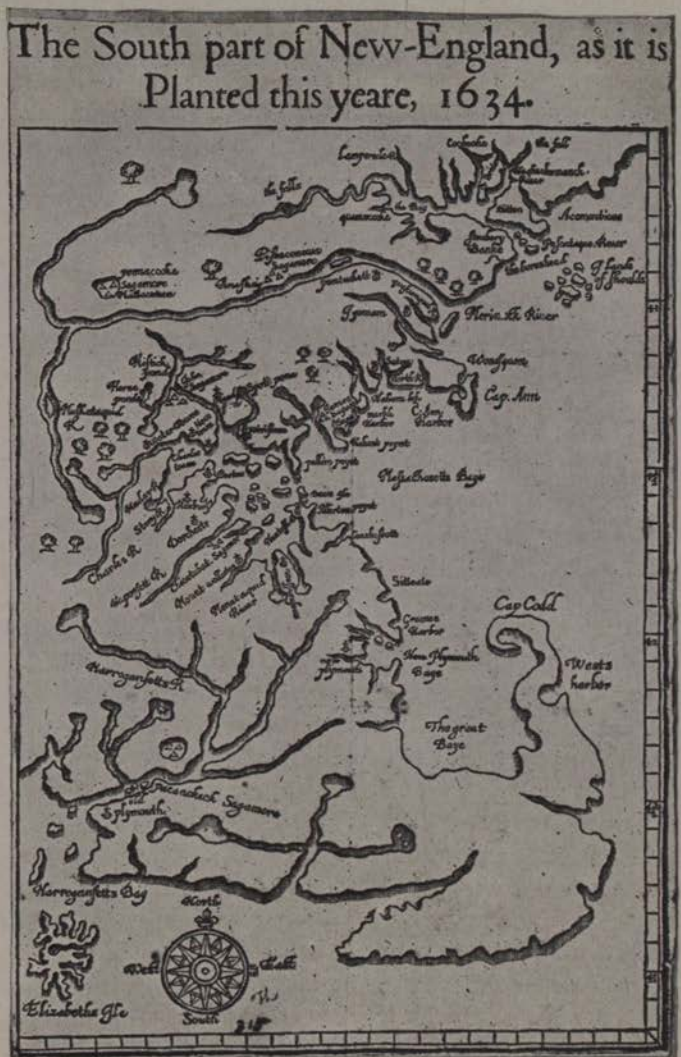
Alſo there are diuers other things neceſſary to bee taken ouer to this Plantation, as Bookes, Nets, Hookes and Lines, Cheeſe, Bacon, Kine, Goats, &c.

OF SUCH NEEDEFULL THINGS"

saide, or any the Landes or Territories aforesaide, That then, and soe often, and in such Case, the Farmors, Customers, and Officers of our Customes of England and Ireland, and everie of them for the Tyme being, vpon Request made to them by the saide Governor and Company, or their Successors, Factors, or Assignes, and vpon convenient Security to be given in that Behalf, shall give and allowe vnto the said Governor and Company, and their Successors, and to all and everie Person and Persons free of that Company, as aforesaide, six Monethes Tyme for the Payement of the one halfe of all such Custome and Subsidy as shalbe due and payeable unto Vs, our Heires and Successors, for the same; for which theis our Letters patents, or the Duplicate, or the inrollem^t^ thereof, shalbe vnto our saide Officers a sufficient Warrant and Discharge. NEVERTHELES, our Will and Pleasure is, That yf any of the saide Goodes, Wares, and Merchandize, which be, or shalbe at any Tyme hereafter landed or exported out of any of our Realmes aforesaide, and shalbe shipped with a Purpose not to be carried to the Partes of Newe England aforesaide, but to some other place, That then such Payment, Dutie, Custome, Imposic̃on, or Forfeyture shalbe paid, or belonge to Vs, our Heires and Successors, for the said Goodes, Wares, and Merchandize, soe fraudulently sought to be transported, as yf this our Graunte had not been made nor graunted. AND, Wee doe further will, and by theis Presents, for Vs, our Heires and Successors, firmlie enioine and com̃aunde, as well the Treasorer, Chaunceller, and Barons of the Exchequer, of Vs, our Heires and Successors, as also all and singuler the Customers, Farmors, and Collectors of the Customes, Subsidies, and Imposts, and other the Officers and Ministers of Vs, our Heires, and Successors whatsoever; for the Tyme Being, That they and every of them, vpon the shewing forth vnto them of theis Letters patents, or the Duplicate or exemplificac̃on of the same, without any other Writt or Warrant whatsoever from Vs,

our Heires or Successors, to be obteyned or sued forth, doe and shall make full, whole, entire, and due Allowance, and cleare Discharge vnto the saide Governor and Company, and their Successors, of all Customes, Subsidies, Inposic̃ons, Taxes and Duties whatsoever, that shall or maie be claymed by Vs, our Heires and Successors, of or from the said Governor and Company, and their Successors, for or by Reason of the said Goodes, Chattels, Wares, Merchandizes, and Premises to be exported out of our saide Domynions, or any of them, into any parte of the saide Landes or Premises hereby menc̃oed, to be given, graunted, and confirmed, or for, or by Reason of any of the saide Goodes, Chattells, Wares, or Merchandizes, to be imported from the said Landes and Premises hereby mencoed, to be given, graunted, and confirmed into any of our saide Dominions, or any Parte thereof as aforesaide, excepting onlie the saide five Poundes per Centum hereby reserved and payeable after the Expirac̃on of the saide Terme of seaven Yeares as aforesaid, and not before: . . . AND, further our Will and Pleasure is, and Wee doe hereby for Vs, our Heires and Successors, ordeyne and declare, and graunte to the saide Governor and Company, and their Successors, That all and every the Subiects of Vs, our Heires or Successors, which shall goe to and inhabite within the saide Landes and Premisses hereby menc̃oed to be graunted, and every of their Children which shall happen to be borne there, or on the Seas in goeing thither, or retorning from thence, shall have and enjoy all liberties and Immunities of free and naturall Subiects within any of the Domynions of Vs, our Heires or Successors, to all Intents, Construccons, and Purposes whatsoever, as yf they and everie of them were borne within the Realme of England. . . . AND, Wee doe of our further Grace, certen Knowledg and meere Moc̃on, give and graunte to the saide Governor and Company, and their Successors, That it shall and maie be lawfull, to and for the Governor or Deputie Governor, and

such of the Assistants and Freemen of the said Company for the Tyme being as shalbe assembled in any of their generall Courts aforesaide, or in any other Courtes to be specially sumoned and assembled for that Purpose, or the greater Parte of them (whereof the Governor or Deputie Governor, and six of the Assistants to be alwaies seaven) from tyme to tyme, to make, ordeine, and establishe all Manner of wholesome and reasonable Orders, Lawes, Statutes, and Ordiñnces, Direccõns, and Instruccõns, not contrarie to the Lawes of this our Realme of England, aswell for setling of the Formes and Ceremonies of Governm^t and Magistracy, fitt and necessary for the said Plantacõn, and the Inhabitants there, and for nameing and stiling of all sorts of Officers, both superior and inferior, which they shall finde needeful for that Governement and Plantacon, and the distinguishing and setting forth of the severall duties, Powers, and Lymytts of every such Office and Place, and the Formes of such Oathes warrantable by the Lawes and Statutes of this our Realme of England, as shalbe respectivelie ministred vnto them for the Execucõn of the said severall Offices and Places; as also, for the disposing and ordering of the Elecõns of such of the said Officers as shalbe annuall, and of such others as shalbe to succeede in Case of Death or Removeall, and ministring the said Oathes to the newe elected Officers, and for Imposicons of lawfull Fynes, Mulcts, Imprisonment, or other lawfull Correcõn, according to the Course of other Corporacõns in this our Realme of England, and for the directing, ruling, and disposeing of all other Matters and Thinges, whereby our said People, Inhabitants, there, may be soe religiously, peaceablie and civilly governed, as their good Life and orderlie Conversacon, maie wynn and incite the Natives of Country, to the Knowledg and Obedience of the onlie true God and Sauior of Mankinde, and the Christian Fayth, which in our Royall Intencon, and the Adventurers free Profession, is the principall Ende of this Plan-



MAP, THE SOUTH PART OF NEW ENGLAND, 1634

tacion. . . . AND WEE DOE further, for Vs, our Heires and Successors give and graunte to the said Governor and Company, and their Successors, by theis Presents, that it shall and maie be lawfull, to and for the Chiefe Comaunders, Governors, and Officers of the said Company for the Time being, who shalbe resident in the said Parte of Newe England in America, by theis Presents graunted, and others there inhabiting by their Appointment and Direcc̃on, from Tyme to Tyme, and at all Tymes hereafter for their speciall Defence and Safety, to incounter, expulse, repell, and resist by Force of Armes, aswell by Sea as by Lande, and by all fitting Waies and Meanes whatsoever, all such Person and Persons, as shall at any Tyme hereafter, attempt or enterprise the Destrucc̃on, Invasion, Detriment, or Annoyaunce to the said Plantation or Inhabitants, and to take and surprise by all Waies and Meanes whatsoever, all and every such Person and Persons, with their Shippes, Armour, Munic̃on, and other Goodes, as shall in hostile manner invade or attempt the defeating of the said Plantacon, or the Hurt of the said Company and Inhabitants: . . . AND WEE DOE further, for Vs, our Heires and Successors, ordeyne and graunte to the said Governor and Company, and their Successors by theis Presents that theis our Letters-patents shalbe firme, good, effectuall, and availeable in all Things, and to all Intents and Construcc̃ons of Lawe, according to our true Meaning herein before declared, and shalbe construed, reputed, and adiudged in all Cases most favourablie on the Behalf, and for the Benefitt and Behoofe of the saide Governor and Company and their Successors: ALTHOUGH expresse menc̃on of the true yearely Value or certenty of the Premisses or any of them, or of any other Guiftes or Grauntes, by Vs, or any of our Progenitors or Predecessors, to the foresaid Governor or Company before this tyme made, in theis Presents is not made; or any Statute, Acte, Ordiñnce, Provision, Proclamac̃on, or Restrainte to the contrarie thereof, heretofore had, made,

published, ordeyned, or provided, or any other Matter, Cause, or Thinge whatsoever to the contrarie thereof in any wise notwithstanding.

In Witnes whereof, Wee have caused theis our Letters to be made Patents.

Witnes ourself, at Westminster, the fourth day of March, in the fourth Yeare of our Raigne.

Per Breve de Privato Sigillo,

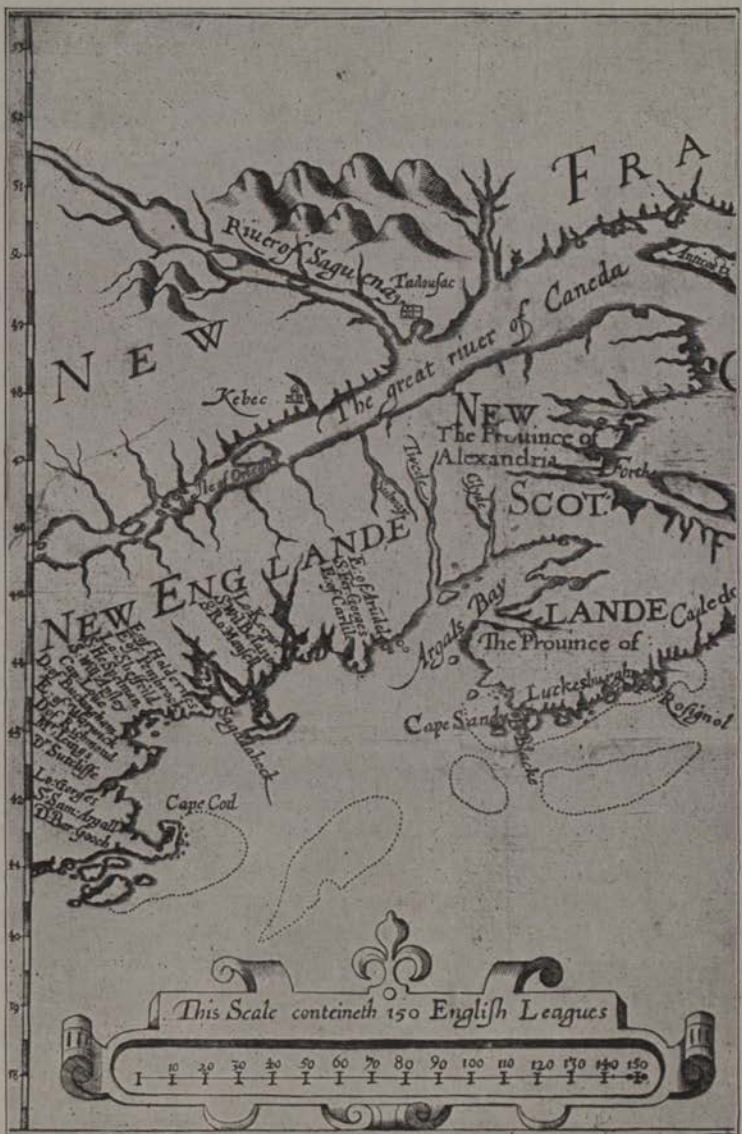
WOLSELEY.

New England a Fit Country for the Seating of an English Colony

Extract from "The Planters' Plea, or the Grounds of Plantations Examined, and Usual Objections Answered," by the Rev. John White, London, 1630. (See page 106.)

Not only our acquaintance with the soil and natives there, but more especially our opportunity of trading thither for furs and fish, persuade this truth, if other things be answerable. It is well known, before our breach with Spain, we usually sent out to New England yearly forty or fifty sail of ships of reasonable good burthen, for fishing only. And howsoever it falls out that our Newfoundland voyages prove more beneficial to the merchants, yet it is as true these to New England are found far more profitable to poor fishermen, so that by that time all reckonings are cast up these voyages come not far behind the other in advantage to the state.

No country yields a more propitious air for our temper than New England, as experience hath made manifest, by all relations. Many of our people that have found themselves always weak and sickly at home have become strong and healthy there, perhaps by the dryness of the air and constant temper of it, which seldom varies suddenly from cold to heat, as it doth with us, so that rheums are very rare among our English there, neither are the natives at any time troubled with pain of teeth, soreness of eyes, or ache in their limbs. It may be the nature of the water conduceth somewhat this way,


NEW
FRA
NEW ENGLANDE
NEW SCOTLANDE
The great riuer of Canada
Kebec
Cape Cod
This Scale conteineth 150 English Leagues
1 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100 110 120 130 140 150

THE NEW ENGLAND PORTION OF ALEXANDER'S MAP, 1624

which all affirm to keep the body always temperately soluble, and consequently helps much to the preventing and curing of the gout and stone, as some have found by experience. As for provisions for life, the corn of the country (which it produceth in good proportion, with reasonable labor) is apt for nourishment, and agrees, although not so well with our taste at first, yet very well with our health, nay, is held by some physicians to be restorative. If we like not that, we may make use of our own grains, which agree well with that soil, and so do our cattle; nay, they grow unto a greater bulk of body there than with us in England. Unto which if we add the fish, fowl, and venison which that country yields in great abundance, it cannot be questioned but that soil may assure sufficient provision for food; and, being naturally apt for hemp and flax especially, may promise us linen sufficient, with our labor, and woolen, too, if it may be thought fit to store it with sheep.

The land affords void ground enough to receive more people than this state can spare, and that not only wood grounds, and others which are unfit for present use, but in many places much cleared ground for tillage, and large marshes for hay and feeding of cattle, which comes to pass by the desolation happening through a three years' plague, about twelve or sixteen years past, which swept away most of the inhabitants all along the seacoast, and in some places utterly consumed man, woman, and child, so that there is no person left to lay claim to the soil which they possessed. In most of the rest the contagion hath scarce left alive one person of an hundred. And which is remarkable, such a plague hath not been known or remembered in any age past, nor then raged above twenty or thirty miles up into the land, nor seized upon any other but the natives, the English in the heat of the sickness commercing with them without hurt or danger. Besides, the natives in-

THE PLANTERS PLEA.

OR

THE GROVNDS OF PLANTATIONS EXAMINED,

And vſuall Objections anſwered.

Together with a manifeſtation of the cauſes mooving ſuch as have lately vndertaken a Plantation in NEVV-ENGLAND:

For the ſatiſfaction of thoſe that queſtion the lawfulneſſe of the Action.

---

2 THES. 5. 21.
Proue all things, and holde faſt that which is good.

LONDON,
Printed by WILLIAM IONES.
1630.

TITLE-PAGE OF "THE PLANTERS PLEA"

vite us to sit down by them and offer us what ground we will, so that either want of possession by others or the possessor's gift and sale may assure our right, we need not fear a clear title to the soil.

In all colonies it is to be desired that the daughter may answer something back by way of retribution to the mother that gave her being. Nature hath as much force, and founds as strong a relation between people and people as between person and person, so that a colony denying due respect to the state from whose bowels it issued is as great a monster as an unnatural child. Now a colony planted in New England may be many ways useful to this state.

As first in furthering our fishing voyages (one of the most honest and every way profitable employments that the nation undertakes), it must needs be a great advantage unto our men, after so long a voyage, to be furnished with fresh victuals there, and that supplied out of that land without spending the provisions of our own country. But there is hope besides that the colony shall not only furnish our fishermen with victuals, but with salt, too, unless men's expectation and conjectures much deceive them, and so quit unto them a great part of the charge of their voyage, beside the hazard of adventure.

Next, how serviceable this country must needs be for provisions for shipping is sufficiently known already. At present it may yield planks, masts, oars, pitch, tar, and iron, and hereafter (by the aptness of the soil for hemp), if the colony increase, sails and cordage. What other commodities it may afford besides for trade, time will discover. Of wines, among the rest, there can be no doubt, the ground yielding natural vines in great abundance and variety, and, of these, some as good as any are found in France, by human culture. But in the possibility of the serviceableness of the colony to this state the judgment of the Dutch may somewhat

confirm us, who have planted in the same soil and make great account of their colony there.

But the greatest advantage must needs come unto the natives themselves, whom we shall teach providence and industry, for want whereof they perish oft-times, while they make short provisions for the present by reason of their idleness, and that they have they spend and waste unnecessarily, without having respect to times to come. Withal, commerce and example of our course of living cannot but, in time, breed civility among them, and that, by God's blessing, may make way for religion consequently, and for the saving of their souls. Unto all which may be added the safety and protection of the persons of the natives, which are secured by our colonies. In times past the Tarentines (who dwell from those of Massachusetts bay, near which our men are seated, about fifty or sixty leagues to the north-east), inhabiting a soil unfit to produce that country grain, being the more hardy people, were accustomed yearly at harvest to come down in their canoes and reap their fields and carry away their corn, and destroy their people, which wonderfully weakened and kept them low in times past. From this evil our neighborhood hath wholly freed them, and consequently secured their persons and estates, which makes the natives there so glad of our company.

Order for Settling the Government of Maryland, 1654

This Order is to be considered in connection with the "Protest against Lord Baltimore's Oath Proclamation" and the "Virginia and Maryland Controversy over Lord Baltimore," given in Volume II. Text from Peter Force's "Tracts and Other Papers Relating to the Origin, Settlement, and Progress of the Colonies in North America," Vol. II., Washington, 1838. (See page 126.)

Whereas by several Orders drawn up and Published at St. *Marie's* the 29. of *March*, and the 28. of *June*, 1652. *Maryland* was Reduced and settled under the Authority and Obedience of the Common-wealth of *England*, as to the Government thereof, by special Order and Command of the Councel of State by Commission from the Parliament, and was left in the hands of Captain *William Stone*, Mr. *Hatton*, and others; who were required, and promised to issue out Writs and other Process in the Name of the Keepers of the Liberty of *England*, according to the express words of the Commission and Instructions for Reducing, Settling, and Governing of the Plantations in the Bay of *Chesapiak* to the Obedience of the Common-wealth of *England*, as in, and by the aforesaid Orders and Proclamations may, and doth appear: And whereas the aforesaid Captain *Stone*, by special Order and Directions from the Lord *Baltamore* as it appeareth, was perswaded and induced to go away from his Obligation and the Trust re-

A RELATION OF MARYLAND;

Together,

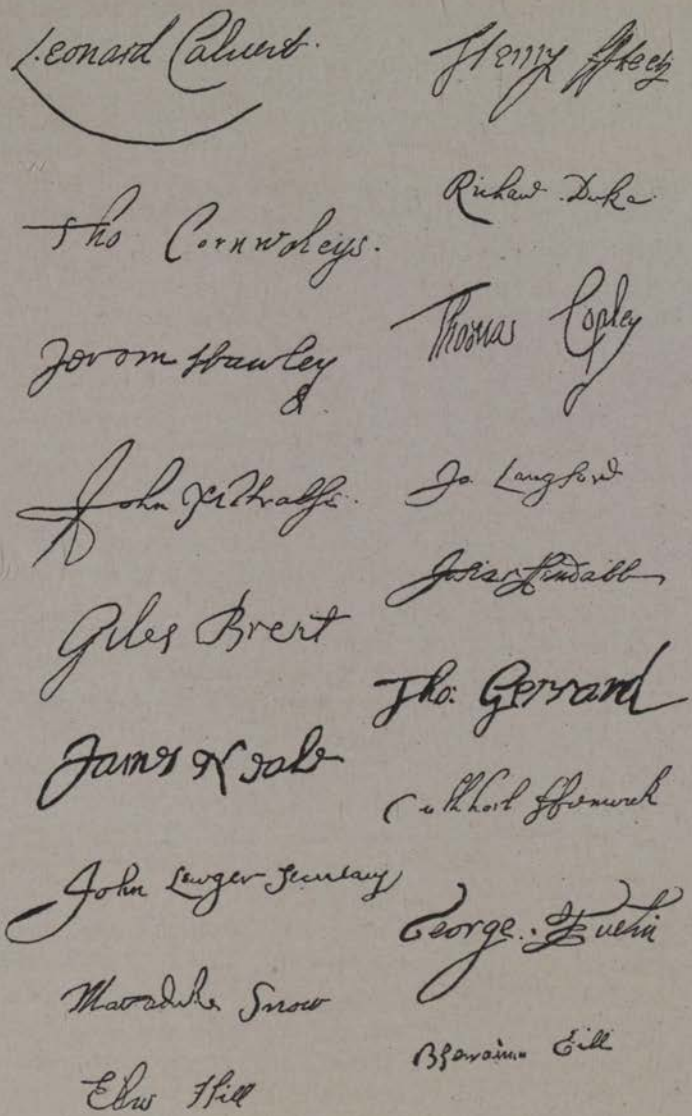
With { A Map of the Countrey,
The Conditions of Plantation,
His Majesties Charter to the Lord *Baltemore*, translated into English.

These Bookes are to bee had; at Master *William Peasley* Esq; his house, on the back-side of *Drury-Lane*, neere the *Cock-pit* Playhouse; or in his absence, at Master *John Morgans* house in high *Holbourne*, over against the *Dolphin*, *London*.

September the 8. *Anno Dom.* 1635.

TITLE-PAGE OF "A RELATION OF MARYLAND"

posed in him, By issuing forth Writs, and all other Process in the Name of the Lord Proprietary of this Province, placing and displacing those of the Councel, and imposing an Oath upon the Inhabitants, contrary unto, and inconsistent with the said Engagement and Oath to the Common-wealth of *England*, upon the Penalty and Forfeiture of the Lands of all such as should Refuse to take the same within three Months after publication thereof, which were then to be Entred upon, and Seized to his Lordships use; thereby occasioning great discontent and disturbance among the Inhabitants, besides the Irregularity and Cruelty of the said proceedings, and the Opposition, Contempt, and Rebellion therein to the Common-wealth of *England*, and his Highness the Lord Protector. And further, whereas by a late Proclamation, dated the *4th.* of this Month, published in this Province, both the Commissioners of State, and the people who adhered to their Engagement to the Common-wealth of *England*, and refused to own, or acknowledge any other Name or Authority, as to Government, or to take any other Oath but what they had already taken to that power, were charged, That they drew away the people, and led them into Faction, Sedition, and Rebellion against the Lord *Baltamore;* whereby not only the Lands and Plantations of many hundreds of people, but also their Estates and Lives were liable to be taken away at the pleasure of the aforesaid Lord *Baltamore* and his Officers: By all which unjust and unreasonable proceedings, the people were put upon a necessity of standing upon their own defence, for the Vindication of their just Rights and Liberties, and freeing themselves from those great Oppressions, whereby the whole Province was very much threatned, and apparently endangered. For the prevention whereof, as also for the Relief of those who were so deeply distressed, and for the Settlement of the Province in peace, and their due Obedience under his Highness, The said Com-



RARE AUTOGRAPHS OF SOME OF THE FIRST ADVENTURERS AND SETTLERS IN MARYLAND

(Reproduced from "Side-Lights on Maryland History," by Hester Dorsey Richardson, with consent of the author)

missioners by Authority derived unto them from his Highness the Lord Protector, applyed themselves unto Captain *William Stone* the Governor, and the Councel of *Maryland*, according to a Declaration of the 15 of this Month, herewith published, who returning only opprobrious, and uncivil language, presently mustered his whole power of men and Souldiers in Arms, intending to surprize the said Commissioners, and as could be imagined, to destroy all those that had refused the said unlawful Oath, and only kept themselves in their due obedience to the Common-wealth of *England*, under which they were Reduced and Settled by the Parliaments Authority and Commission as aforesaid; Then the said Commissioners in peaceable and quiet manner, with some of the people of *Patuxent* and *Severne*, went over the River of *Patuxent*, and there at length received a Message from Capt. *Stone*, That the next day they would meet and treat in the Woods; and thereupon being in some fear of a party to come from *Virginia*, he condescended to lay down his power lately assumed from the Lord *Baltamore*, and to submit (as he had once before done) to such Government as the Commissioners should appoint under his Highness the Lord Protector.

It is therefore Ordered and Declared by the said Commissioners, That for Conservation of the Peace and publick administration of Justice within the said Province of *Maryland*, Captain *William Fuller*, Mr. *Richard Preston*, Mr. *William Durand*, Mr. *Edward Lloyd*, Captain *John Smith*, Mr. *Leonard Strong*, Mr. —— *Lawson*, Mr. *John Hatch*, Mr. *Edward Wells*, and Mr. *Richard Ewen*, or any Four of them, whereof Captain *William Fuller*, Mr. *Richard Preston*, or Mr. *William Durand* to be alwayes one, to be Commissioners for the well Ordering, Directing, and Governing the Affairs of *Maryland*, under his Highness the Lord Protector of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and the Dominions thereof, and in his Name only, and no other; and to proceed therein as

QUEEN HENRIETTA MARIA, WIFE OF KING CHARLES I. OF ENGLAND, AFTER WHOM MARYLAND WAS NAMED

(From "Side-Lights on Maryland History," by Hester Dorsey Richardson, with consent of the author)

they shall see cause, and as neer as may be, according to the Laws of *England:* To appoint and hold Courts for the due administration of Justice and Right in such places, and at such times as they shall think fit and necessary: And any of the Commissioners of the Quorum, to issue forth Writs, Warrants, Subpoena's, &c. As also that they Summon an Assembly to begin on the *20th* day of *October* next; For which Assembly all such shall be disabled to give any Vote, or to be Elected Members thereof, as have born Arms in War against the Parliament, or do profess the Roman Catholick Religion. And the said Mr. *William Durand* is hereby appointed to be Secretary to the said Commissioners, and to receive the Records from Mr. *Thomas Hatton;* And Captain *John Smith*, to be Sheriff for this ensuing yeer.

Dated at Patuxent, *in the Province of* Maryland, *the* 22 of *July*, 1654.

RICHARD BENNET,
WILLIAM CLAIBORNE.

Fundamental Articles of the New Haven Colony, 1639

Resolution adopted by the free planters of Quinnipiack for forming a civil and religious organization, June 4, 1639. Text from Hollister's "History of Connecticut," 1855. (See page 162.)

I. That the scriptures hold forth a perfect rule for the direction and government of all men in all duties which they perform to God and men, as well in families and common-wealth, as in matters of the church.

II. That, as in matters which concern the gathering and ordering of a church, so likewise of magistrates and officers, making and repealing laws, dividing allotments of inheritance, and all things of like nature, they would all be governed by those rules which the Scripture held forth to them.

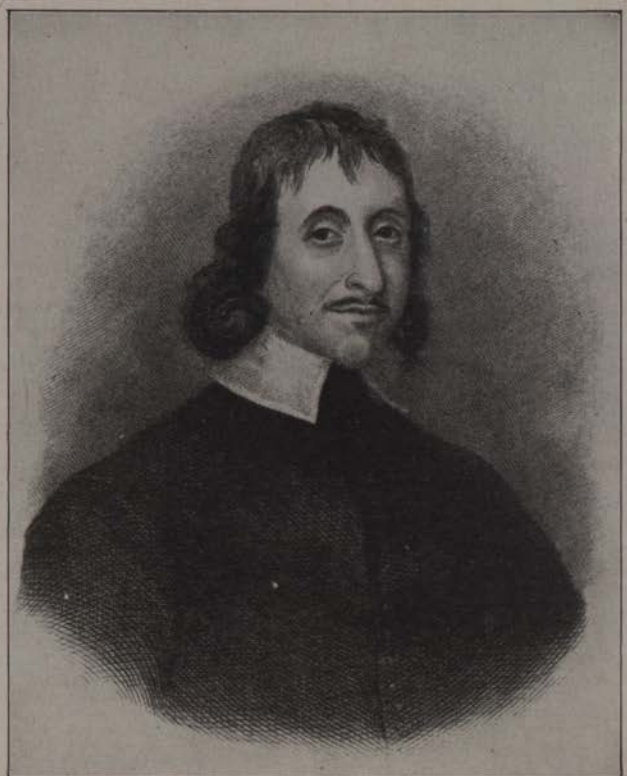
III. That all those who had desired to be received as free planters, had settled in the plantation with a purpose, resolution, and desire, that they might be admitted into church fellowship according to Christ.

IV. That all the free planters held themselves bound to establish such civil order as might best conduce to the securing of the purity and peace of the ordinance to themselves and their posterity according to God.

V. That church members only should be free burgesses; and that they only should choose magistrates among themselves, to have power of transacting all the public civil affairs of the plantation; of making and repealing laws, dividing inheritances, deciding of differ-

ences that may arise, and doing all things and businesses of like nature.

VI. That twelve men should be chosen, that their fitness for the foundation work might be tried, and that it should be in the power of those twelve men to choose seven to begin the church.



JOHN WINTHROP, JR., "GOVERNOR OF THE RIVER CONNECTICUT, WITH THE PLACES ADJOINING, 1635"

Patent of Providence Plantations, 1643

Roger Williams, banished from Massachusetts in 1636, settled in Providence, and in 1643 obtained a patent consolidating the settlements at Providence, Portsmouth, and Newport, under the name of Providence Plantations. The following are the essential parts of this patent from the text in "Rhode Island Colonial Records," Vol. I., pp. 143–6. (See page 164.)

. . . Whereas . . . there is a Tract of Land . . . called by the Name of the Narraganset-Bay; bordering Northward and Northeast on the Patent of the Massachusetts, East and Southeast on Plymouth Patent, South on the Ocean, and on the West and Northwest by the Indians called Nahigganneucks, alias Narragansets; the whole Tract extending about Twenty-five English Miles unto the Pequot River and Country.

And whereas divers well affected and industrious English Inhabitants, of the Towns of Providence, Portsmouth, and Newport in the tract aforesaid, have adventured to make a nearer neighborhood and Society with the great Body of the Narragansets, which may in Time by the blessing of God upon their Endeavours, lay a sure Foundation of Happiness to all America. And have also purchased, and are purchasing of and amongst the said Natives, some other Places, which may be convenient both for Plantations, and also for building of Ships, Supply of Pipe Staves and other Merchandize. And whereas the said English, have represented their

Desire . . . to have their hopeful Beginnings approved and confirmed, by granting unto them a Free Charter of Civil Incorporation and Government; . . . In due Consideration of the said Premises, the said Robert Earl of Warwick, . . . and the greater Number of the said Commissioners, . . . out of a Desire to encourage the good Beginnings of the said Planters, Do, by the Authority of the aforesaid Ordinance of the Lords and Commons, . . . grant . . . to the aforesaid Inhabitants of the Towns of Providence, Portsmouth, and Newport, a free and absolute Charter of Incorporation, to be known by the name of the Incorporation of Providence Plantations, in the Narraganset-Bay, in New England.—Together with full Power and Authority to rule themselves, and such others as shall hereafter inhabit within any Part of the said Tract of land, by such a Form of Civil Government, as by voluntary consent of all, or the greater Part of them, they shall find most suitable to their Estate and Condition; and, for that End, to make and ordain such Civil Laws and Constitutions, and to inflict such punishments upon Transgressors, and for Execution thereof, so to place, and displace Officers of Justice, as they, or the greatest Part of them, shall by free Consent agree unto. Provided nevertheless, that the said Laws, Constitutions, and Punishments, for the Civil Government of the said Plantations, be conformable to the Laws of England, so far as the Nature and Constitution of the place will admit. And always reserving to the said Earl, and Commissioners, and their Successors, Power and Authority for to dispose the general Government of that, as it stands in Relation to the rest of the Plantations in America as they shall conceive from Time to Time, most conducing to the general Good of the said Plantations, the Honour of his Majesty, and the Service of the State. . . .

The Founding of New Sweden, 1637

Extract from the first part of the "History of New Sweden," by the Rev. Israel Acrelius, narrating the settlements of the Swedes on the Delaware. Text from the English translation in "Old South Leaflet," No. 96. (See page 168.)

After that the magnanimous Genoese, Christopher Columbus, had, at the expense of Ferdinand, King of Spain, in the year 1492, discovered the Western Hemisphere, and the illustrious Florentine, Americus Vespucius, sent out by King Emmanuel of Portugal, in the year 1502, to make a further exploration of its coasts, had had the good fortune to give the country his name, the European powers have, from time to time, sought to promote their several interests there. Our Swedes and Goths were the less backward in such expeditions, as they had always been the first therein. They had already, in the year 996 after the birth of Christ, visited America, had named it Vinland the Good, and also Skrællinga Land, and had called its inhabitants "the Skrællings of Vinland." It is therefore evident that the Northmen had visited some part of North America before the Spaniards and Portuguese went to South America. But the question is, What would have been thought about Vinland if no later discoveries had been made, and what they thought about it before the time of Columbus?

Every region in America was discovered in its own separate time. Virginia was discovered in the year 1497 by Sebastian Cabot, a Portuguese, who was then

the captain of an English ship. Its coasts were afterwards visited by those brave knights, Sir Francis Drake and Sir Walter Raleigh, the latter of whom called the land Virginia, after Queen Elizabeth of England, who

KING GUSTAF ADOLPH OF SWEDEN

lived unmarried. Under this name was included all the country stretching from Cape Florida to the St. Lawrence River, which was formerly called Florida, when separate names were not yet given to its coasts. That was done about the year 1584. Captain De la Ware, under the command of the English Admiral James Chartiers,[1] was the first who discovered the bay in which

[1] Acrelius has been led into this singular mistake by Campanius, whom he here follows. Cartier (not Chartiers) was a French subject, and discovered the St. Lawrence in 1534. Lord (not "captain") De la Ware was appointed governor of Virginia in 1610, and arrived at Jamestown on June 10th of the same year. He probably entered the Delaware on his way to Virginia. The reader will notice various inaccuracies in these early pages.

the Indian river Poutaxat debouched, and gave his name, Delaware, to both the river and the bay, in the year 1600. These countries were repeatedly visited by the English: first by those sent out by Sir Walter Raleigh from Bristol, in the year 1603, and afterwards by Sir G. Popham and Captain James Davis, but little more was accomplished than that they learned to know the people, erected some small places and forts, which, however, were soon destroyed by the savages. In the year 1606 a body of emigrants was sent to the northern regions, by two companies, called the London and the Bristol Companies. The former settled southward on the Chesapeake Bay; the latter, on the Kennebeck, or Sagadahoc, River. Each had its territorial rights secured by a patent. In the year 1620 a dispute arose between them about the fisheries at Cape Cod, when a new patent was given. The Bristol Company, which received an accession of some persons of rank and distinction, changed its name to that of the Plymouth Council, and obtained a right to all the lands lying above the 40th degree up to the 48th degree of north latitude, which was three degrees farther north than the former grant, and included the greater part of Acadia, or New Scotland, and also extended westward from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean: all this was included in New England. The rest remained under Virginia.

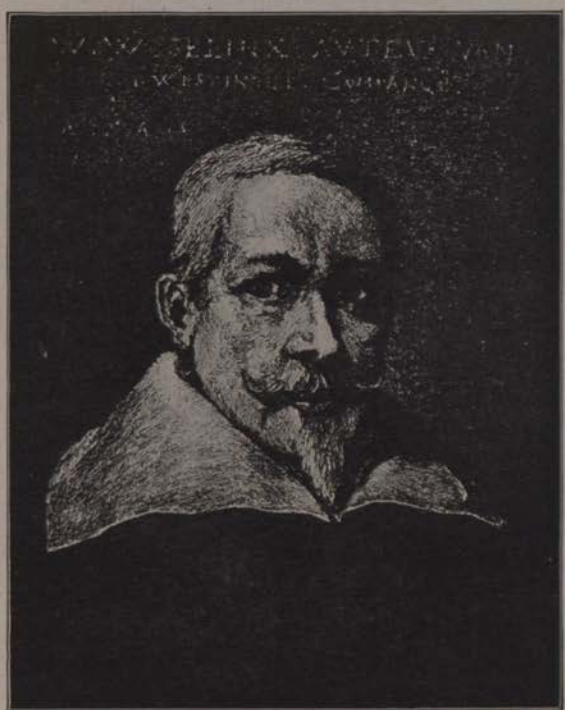
About the same time the Hollanders undertook to steal into these American harbors. They took a fancy to the shores of the bay called by the Indians Menahados, and the river Mohaan.[1] Henry Hudson, an Englishman in the service of the Holland East India Company, had first discovered those places, and called the bay after his own name, Hudson's Bay. This East India Company, in the year 1608, sold its right to the

[1] Evidently the Mohawk, although we do not anywhere else find that river so called. The connection would indicate the Hudson River, but that is never so designated, but was called by the natives the Cohatatea or Oïogue.

country, which it based upon its priority of discovery, to some Hollanders. These obtained from the States-General of Holland an exclusive privilege (*privilegium exclusivum*) to the country, and took the name of "The West India Company of Amsterdam." In the year 1610 they began to traffic with the Indians, and in the year 1613 built a trading-post (*magasin*) at the place now called Albany, and in the following year placed some cannon there. Samuel Argall, the governor of Virginia, drove them out in 1618; but King James I. gave them permission to remain, that their ships might obtain water there in their voyages to Brazil. From that time until 1623, when the West India Company obtained its charter their trade with the Indians was conducted almost entirely on shipboard, and they made no attempts to build any house or fortress until 1629. Now, whether that was done with or without the permission of England, the town of New Amsterdam was built and fortified, as also the place Aurania, Orange, now called Albany, having since had three general-governors, one after the other. But that was not yet enough. They wished to extend their power to the river Delaware also, and erected on its shores two or three small forts, which were, however, soon after destroyed by the natives of the country.

It now came in order for Sweden also to take part in this enterprise. William Usselinx, a Hollander, born at Antwerp in Brabant, presented himself to King Gustaf Adolph, and laid before him a proposition for a trading company, to be established in Sweden, and to extend its operations to Asia, Africa, and Magellan's Land (Terra Magellanica), with the assurance that this would be a great source of revenue to the kingdom. Full power was given him to carry out this important project; and thereupon a contract of trade was drawn up, to which the company was to agree and subscribe it. Usselinx published explanations of this contract, wherein he also particularly directed attention to the country on the Dela-

ware, its fertility, convenience, and all its imaginable resources. To strengthen the matter, a charter (octroy) was secured to the company, and especially to Usselinx, who was to receive a royalty of one thousandth upon all articles bought or sold by the company.



WILLIAM USSELINX

The powerful King, whose zeal for the honor of God was not less ardent than for the welfare of his subjects, availed himself of this opportunity to extend the doctrines of Christ among the heathen, as well as to establish his own power in other parts of the world. To this end, he sent forth letters patent, dated at Stockholm on the 2d of July, 1626, wherein all, both high and low, were

invited to contribute something to the company, according to their means. The work was completed in the Diet of the following year, 1627, when the estates of the realm gave their assent, and confirmed the measure. Those who took part in this company were: His Majesty's mother, the Queen Dowager Christina, the Prince John Casimir, the Royal Council, the most distinguished of the nobility, the highest officers of the army, the bishops and other clergymen, together with the burgomasters and aldermen of the cities, as well as a large number of the people generally. The time fixed for paying in the subscriptions was the 1st of May of the following year (1628). For the management and working of the plan there were appointed an admiral, vice-admiral, chapman, under-chapman, assistants, and commissaries; also a body of soldiers duly officered.

But when these arrangements were now in full progress, and duly provided for, the German war and the King's death occurred, which caused this important work to be laid aside. The trading company was dissolved, its subscriptions nullified, and the whole project seemed about to die with the King. But, just as it appeared to be at its end, it received new life. Another Hollander, by the name of Peter Menewe, sometimes called Menuet, made his appearance in Sweden. He had been in the service of Holland in America, where he became involved in difficulties with the officers of their West India Company, in consequence of which he was recalled home and dismissed from their service. But he was not discouraged by this, and went over to Sweden, where he renewed the representations which Usselinx had formerly made in regard to the excellence of the country and the advantages that Sweden might derive from it. Queen Christina, who succeeded her royal father in the government, was glad to have the project thus renewed. The royal chancellor, Count Axel Oxenstierna, understood well how to put it in operation. He

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PURCHASE OF MANHATTAN ISLAND BY PETER MINUIT, 1626

(From the painting by Alfred Fredericks, for the Title Guarantee & Trust Company)

took the West India Trading Company into his own hands, as its president, and encouraged other noblemen to take shares in it. King Charles I. of England had already, in the year 1634, upon representations made to him by John Oxenstierna, at that time Swedish ambassador in London, renounced in favor of the Swedes, all claims and pretensions of the English to that country, growing out of their rights as its first discoverers. Hence everything seemed to be settled upon a firm foundation, and all earnestness was employed in the prosecution of the plans for a colony.

As a good beginning, the first colony was sent off;[1] and Peter Menewe was placed over it, as being best acquainted in those regions. They set sail from Götheborg, in a ship-of-war called the *Key of Colmar*, followed by a smaller vessel bearing the name of the *Bird Griffin*, both laden with people, provisions, ammunition, and merchandise, suitable for traffic and gifts to the Indians. The ships successfully reached their place of destination. The high expectations which our emigrants had of that new land were well met by the first views which they had of it. They made their first landing on the bay or entrance to the river Poutaxat, which they called the river of New Sweden; and the place where they landed they called *Paradise Point*.[2]

A purchase of land was immediately made from the Indians; and it was determined that all the land on the western side of the river, from the point called Cape Inlopen or Hinlopen, up to the fall called Santickan, and all the country inland, as much as was ceded, should belong to the Swedish crown forever. Posts were driven into the ground as landmarks, which were still seen in their places sixty years afterwards. A deed was drawn up for the land thus purchased. This was written in Dutch, because no Swede was yet able to interpret the

[1] In August, 1637.

[2] In the neighborhood of what is now Lewes, Delaware.

language of the heathen. The Indians subscribed their hands and marks. The writing was sent home to Sweden to be preserved in the royal archives. Mans Kling was the surveyor. He laid out the land and made a map of the whole river, with its tributaries, islands, and points, which is still to be found in the royal archives in Sweden. Their clergyman was Reorus Torkillus of East Gothland.

The first abode of the newly arrived emigrants was at a place called by the Indians Hopokahacking. There, in the year 1638, Peter Menuet built a fortress which he named Fort Christina, after the reigning Queen of Sweden. The place, situated upon the west side of the river, was probably chosen so as to be out of the way of the Hollanders, who claimed the eastern side—a measure of prudence, until the arrival of a greater force from Sweden. The fort was built upon an eligible site, not far from the mouth of the creek, so as to secure them in the navigable water of the Maniquas, which was afterwards called Christina Kihl, or creek.

The country was wild and uninhabited by the Hollanders. They had two or three forts on the river—Fort Nassau, where Gloucester now stands, and another at Horekihl, down on the bay. But both of these were entirely destroyed by the Americans, and their occupants driven away. The following extract from the "History of the New Netherlands," which Adrian van der Donck published in the year 1655, with the license and privilege as well of the States-General as of the West India Company, will serve as proof of what we have said.

"The place is called Hore-kihl, but why so called we know not. But this is certain: that some years back, before the English and the Swedes came hither, it was taken up and settled as a colony by Hollanders, the arms of the States being at the same time set up in brass. These arms having been pulled down by the

MAP OF NEW SWEDEN, FROM CAMPANIUS, 1670

(Lindström's Map, 1654-55)

villany of the Indians, the commissary there resident demanded that the head of the traitor should be delivered to him. The Indians, unable to escape in any other way, brought him the head, which was accepted as a sufficient atonement of their offence. But some time afterwards, when we were at work in the fields, and unsuspicious of danger, the Indians came as friends, surrounded the Hollanders with overwhelming numbers, fell upon them, and completely exterminated them. Thus was the colony destroyed, though sealed with blood, and dearly enough purchased."

Notwithstanding all this, the Hollanders believed that they had the best right to the Delaware River; yea, a better right than the Indians themselves. It was their object to secure at least all the land lying between said river and their city of New Amsterdam, where was their stronghold, and which country they once called "The New Netherlands." But, as their forces were still too weak, they always kept one or another of their people upon the east side of the river to watch those who might visit the country. As soon, therefore, as Menuet landed with his Swedish company, notice of the fact was given to the Director-General of the Hollanders in New Amsterdam. He waited for some time, until he could ascertain Menuet's purpose; but, when it appeared that he was erecting a fortress for the Swedes, he sent him the following protest:

"*Thursday, May 6, 1638.*

"I, William Kieft, Director-General of the New Netherlands, residing upon the island of Manhattan, in the Fort Amsterdam, under the government belonging to the High and Mighty States-General of the United Netherlands, and the West India Company, chartered by the Council Chamber in Amsterdam, make known to you, Peter Menuet, who style yourself Commander in the service of her Royal Majesty, the Queen of Sweden,

that the whole South River of the New Netherlands, both above and below, hath already, for many years, been our property, occupied by our forts, and sealed with our blood, which was also done when you were in service in the New Netherlands, and you are, therefore, well aware of this. But whereas you have now come among our forts to build a fortress to our injury and damage, which we shall never permit; as we are also assured that her Royal Majesty of Sweden has never given you authority to build forts upon our rivers and coasts, nor to settle people on the land, nor to traffic in peltries, nor to undertake anything to our injury: We do, therefore, protest against all the disorder and injury, and all the evil consequences of bloodshed, uproar, and wrong which our Trading Company may thus suffer: And that we shall protect our rights in such manner as we may find most advisable." Then follows the usual conclusion.

In his "History of the New Netherlands," already cited, Adrian van der Donck likewise relates how protest was made against the building of Fort Christina; but there, also, he gives evidence of the weakness of the Hollanders in the river, on the first arrival of the Swedes, and that their strength consisted almost entirely in great words.

"On the river," he says, "lies, first, Maniqua's Kihl, where the Swedes have built Fort Christina, where the largest ships can load and unload at the shore. There is another place on the river called Schulkihl, which is also navigable. That, also, was formerly under the control of the Hollanders, but is now mostly under the government of the Swedes. In that river (Delaware) there are various islands and other places, formerly belonging to the Hollanders, whose name they still bear, which sufficiently shows that the river belongs to the Hollanders, and not to the Swedes. Their very commencement will convict them. Before the year 1638, one Minnewits, who had formerly acted as director for the Trading Company at Manhatans, came into the

river in the ship *Key of Colmar*, and the yacht called the *Bird Griffin*. He gave out to the Hollander, Mr. Van der Nederhorst, the agent of the West India Company in the South River, that he was on a voyage to the West India Islands, and that he was staying there to take in wood and water. Whereupon said Hollander allowed him to go free. But, some time after, some of our people going thither found him still there, and he had planted a garden, and the plants were growing in it. In astonishment we asked the reasons for such procedure, and if he intended to stay there. To which he answered evasively, alleging various excuses for his conduct. The third time they found them settled and building a fort. Then we saw their purpose. As soon as he was informed of it, Director Kieft protested against it, but in vain."

Thus Peter Menuet made a good beginning for the settlement of the Swedish colony in America. He guarded his little fort for over three years, and the Hollanders neither attempted nor were able to overthrow it. After some years of faithful service he died at Christina. In his place followed Peter Hollendare, a native Swede, who did not remain at the head of its affairs more than a year and a half. He returned home to Sweden, and was a major at Skepsholm, in Stockholm, in the year 1655.

The second emigration took place under Lieut.-Col. John Printz, who went out with the appointment of governor of New Sweden. He had a grant of four hundred rix dollars for his travelling expenses, and one thousand two hundred dollars silver as his annual salary. The company was invested with the exclusive privilege of importing tobacco into Sweden, although that article was even then regarded as unnecessary and injurious, although indispensable since the establishment of the bad habit of its use. Upon the same occasion was also sent out Magister John Campanius Holm, who was called by their excellencies the Royal Council and Ad-

miral Claes Flemming, to become the government chaplain, and watch over the Swedish congregation.

The ship on which they sailed was called the *Fama*. It went from Stockholm to Götheborg, and there took in its freight. Along with this went two other ships-of-the-line the *Swan* and the *Charitas*, laden with people, and other necessaries. Under Governor Printz, ships came to the colony in three distinct voyages. The first ship was the *Black Cat*, with ammunition, and merchandise for the Indians. Next, the ship *Swan*, on a second voyage, with emigrants, in the year 1647. Afterwards, two other ships, called the *Key* and *The Lamp*. During these times the clergymen, Mr. Lawrence Charles Lockenius and Mr. Israel Holgh, were sent out to the colony.

The voyage to New Sweden was at that time quite long. The watery way to the West was not well discovered, and, therefore, for fear of the sand-banks off Newfoundland, they kept their course to the east and south as far as to what were then called the Brazates.[1] The ships which went under the command of Governor Printz sailed along the coast of Portugal, and down the coast of Africa, until they found the eastern passage, then directly over to America, leaving the Canaries high up to the north. They landed at Antigua, then continued their voyage northward, past Virginia and Maryland, to Cape Henlopén. Yet, in view of the astonishingly long route which they took, the voyage was quick enough in six months' time—from Stockholm on August 16, 1642, to the new fort of Christina, in New Sweden, on February 15, 1643.

The Swedes who emigrated to America belonged partly to a trading company, provided with a charter, who, for their services, according to their condition or agreement, were to receive pay and monthly wages; a part of them also went at their own impulse to try their for-

[1] The Azores?

tune. For these it was free to settle and live in the country as long as they pleased or to leave it, and they were therefore, by way of distinction from the others, called freemen. At first, also, malefactors and vicious

ENGRAVED TITLE-PAGE OF CAMPANIUS'S "FIRST ACCOUNT OF NEW SWEDEN IN AMERICA," 1702

people were sent over, who were used as slaves to labor upon the fortifications. They were kept in chains and not allowed to have intercourse with the other settlers; moreover, a separate place of abode was assigned to them. The neighboring people and country were dissatisfied that such wretches should come into the colony.

It was also, in fact, very objectionable in regard to the heathen, who might be greatly offended by it. Whence it happened that, when such persons came over in Governor Printz's time, it was not permitted that one of them should set foot upon the shore, but they had all to be carried back again, whereupon a great part of them died during the voyage or perished in some other way. Afterwards it was forbidden at home in Sweden, under a penalty, to take for the American voyage any persons of bad fame; nor was there ever any lack of good people for the colony.

Governor Printz was now in a position to put the government upon a safe footing to maintain the rights of the Swedes, and to put down the attempts of the Hollanders. They had lately, before his arrival, patched their little Fort Nassau. On this account he selected the island of Tenackong as his residence, which is sometimes also called Tutaeaenung and Tenicko, about 3 Swedish miles from Fort Christina. The convenient situation of the place suggested its selection, as also the location of Fort Nassau,[1] which lay some miles over against it, to which he could thus command the passage by water. The new fort, which was erected and provided with considerable armament, was called New Götheborg. His place of residence, which he adorned with orchards, gardens, a pleasure-house, etc., he named Printz Hall. A handsome wooden church was also built at the same place, which Magister Campanius consecrated, on the last great prayer-day which was celebrated in New Sweden, on Sept. 4, 1646. Upon that place, also, all the most prominent freemen had their residences and plantations.

[1] Fort Nassau was built near the mouth of Timber Creek, below Gloucester Point, N. J. It is said to have been built by Cornelius Mey, in 1623; but when visited by De Vries, ten years afterwards (Jan. 5, 1633), it was in the possession of the Indians, among whom he was afraid to land. We have no evidence that the fort was reoccupied by the Dutch before the establishment of the Swedish colony in 1638.

THE END OF VOLUME I

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